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*Faustulus bringing the Twins, Romulus & Remus to Acca Laurentia; who afterwards nursed them as her own.*

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# UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

## *ANCIENT AND MODERN;*

D33 13

FROM

THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF TIME,

TO

THE GENERAL PEACE OF 1801.

IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES.

*BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.*

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

Factorum est copia nobis.

. . . . . .

Res gestæ regumque, ducumque, et tristia bella.

VOL. V.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY ISAAC COLLINS AND SON, FOR SAMUEL F. BRADFORD, PHILADELPHIA.

1804.

THE

# HISTORY

OF

# ROME,

FROM

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY

TILL

*THE TERMINATION OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE.*

*BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.*

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

VOL. I.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY ISAAC COLLINS AND SON, FOR SAMUEL STANSBURY AND CO.

1804.

TO HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,

THIS FIRST VOLUME

OF

THE ROMAN HISTORY

IS,

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF ESTEEM AND

CONSIDERATION,

INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS GRACE'S

MOST DEVOTED, AND FAITHFUL

HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

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# THE

# ROMAN HISTORY.

## CHAP. I.

*The Ancient State of Italy to the Building of Rome.*

FEW countries on the surface of the globe possess more natural advantages than Italy, and none have been more celebrated in history. Though its former splendour is no more, it still presents a most interesting picture to the contemplation of surrounding nations. Blest in general with a happy soil, with a benign climate, and a variety of choice productions, it in some measure deserved to be the mistress of the world. Here the grape ripens in the vicinity of the olive; and under the mulberry tree where the silk-worm spins her precious web, the sheep also yield their fleece to the hand of the shearer. The fruits are abundant and delicious; and though in some districts the scorching heats destroy the verdure, and in others the severity of the frost nips the blossom, the air in far the greatest part is salubrious, and the temperature mild.

In ancient times Italy was known by the different appellations of Saturnia, Ænotria, Hesperia, and Ausonia, names derived from its original inhabitants or its situation. Its boundaries have been fixed by nature itself; for on three sides it is surrounded by the sea, and on the fourth it has the lofty Alps for its barrier. The Appenines, a long chain of mountains, run through its whole length, and not only diversify its features but its climate. Italy is about nine hundred miles long, but of very unequal breadth. In shape it resembles a man's leg much more nearly than an oak leaf, to which the ancients compared it.

Like most other countries, in early times, it was divided into numerous petty states and kingdoms. Concerning its aborigines and its primitive state, historians are much divided; and, as they all write from conjecture, it is in vain to attempt to settle their disputes. The native inhabitants were probably few, before the Greeks established several flourishing colonies on the coasts. We read of the Pelasgi, the Siculi, the Arcades, the Rutuli, the Volsci, the Etrusci, the Ligures, the Sabini, the Latini, and other nations; but we know very little more respecting the generality of them besides their name. It may be proper, however, to observe, that the modern Geneva was inhabited by the Ligurians. The Venetians held that part of their late domains, which lies to the east of the Adise. The Etruscans and the Umbrians possessed the middle districts of the peninsula, now the kingdom of Etruria and the ecclesiastical state. From the Tiber to the frontiers of Naples was once the country of the Sabines, the Latins, and the

Volsci: Capua and Campania are now the territory of Naples; the Marsi, the Samnites, the Apulians, and the Lucanians, divided the rest of the country.

It seems to be certain that the principal of those nations derived their origin from the Greeks; but two only, the Etruscans and the Latins, are mentioned with any particular distinction, or deserve to have their transactions recorded. Other people occasionally appear on the stage on account of their contests with the Romans, to whose power they finally submitted; but, independently of the celebrity they derived from this circumstance, they are unworthy of notice in this place.

Etruria, the country of the Etrusci, if not the first peopled, was certainly the first civilised and best cultivated of any in Italy. It extended along the coast from the Alps to the straits of Sicily, and was divided into small districts, each of which had its king. These petty sovereigns sometimes contended with each other, and sometimes united their arms against the common enemy. Each state appointed a lictor to be the leader of its army; and hence from the number of lictors, the force of the allied powers could generally be estimated. From the Etruscans it was that the Romans borrowed their ceremonies, their sacrifices, and their augury; and such was the veneration paid to Etruria by this great nation, that before the conquest of Greece, the Roman youth used to be sent there to receive their education. No European country indeed seems to have made such an early and so great a proficiency in the arts and sciences as Etruria. Some precious remains of its works, still pre-

served in the cabinets of the curious, are referred to as standards in elegance and taste. The Etruscan language differed both from the Greek and the Roman. Some inscriptions in it are still extant on the beautiful vases of that country, which have escaped the ravages of so many ages.

But it was not only in the mild arts of peace, but also in the fierce combat of war, that the Etruscans were distinguished. They made many a bold and resolute stand against the rising power of Rome; and it was not till after the effusion of much blood, that they bowed their necks to that yoke, which almost all the nations on earth were in succession doomed to bear.

The Latins, or the inhabitants of Latium, as being more immediately the ancestors of the Romans, require to have their history somewhat detailed. Yet such is the intermixture of fable with truth in all that regards their early transactions, that we cannot pretend in all cases to separate the one from the other.

Before the arrival of Æneas in Italy we read of only three kings reigning in Latium, whose names were Picus, Faunus, and Latinus. Picus, on the poetic authority of Virgil, who no doubt meant to flatter the Romans by his fiction, was the son of Saturn, as Faunus, with more probability, was the son of Picus.

In the reign of Faunus a colony of Arcadians, under the command of Evander, landed in a port of Latium, and being permitted to occupy a small uncultivated hill near the Tiber, built there a city called Pallanteum.

Latinus succeeded his father Faunus. This prince is celebrated in history, not so much for his wisdom or prowess as for the memorable in-

cident of the arrival of Æneas in Latium, with the companions of his misfortunes, which happened while he filled the throne.

At this conjuncture Latinus was engaged in a war with the Rutuli, and immediately on receiving intelligence of the strangers having landed in his dominions marched towards them, expecting to find an undisciplined banditti. But the pious Æneas, who has been immortalised by the prince of Latin poets, though commanding a body of hardy and experienced veterans, held out the olive of peace. Latinus listened to his melancholy tale, and pitying the misfortunes of the Trojan exiles, assigned them a portion of land, on condition of their joining him against the Rutuli. Æneas eagerly embraced the offer, and performed such essential service in the cause of the Latins, that this monarch bestowed on him his only daughter, Lavinia, in marriage, with the right of succession to the crown.

In order to testify his gratitude to Latinus, and his affection for Lavinia, Æneas gave her name to the camp he had pitched, and called it Lavinium. The Trojans following the example of their leader, intermarried, and formed alliances with the Latin families; and thus in a short time they became one and the same people.

Mean while Faunus, who under the auspices of his mother had made public pretensions to the hand of Lavinia, before the arrival of the Trojans, seeing himself defeated in his views both of a wife and a throne, and following the impulse of jealousy and resentment, went over to the Rutuli, and rekindled the embers of a war that had almost been extinguished. A battle soon

took place, in which both he and Latinus met their fate.

By the death of his father-in-law and the removal of his rival Faunus, the quiet possession of the kingdom of Latium fell to Æneas, and during three years of peace he swayed the sceptre with equal wisdom and impartiality.

In this space of time he employed himself in consolidating the two different nations who owned his authority; and, in order to civilise and refine their manners, he established the Greek games and festivals, the rites and worship of Vesta, the veneration of the Lares, and the belief in a palladium. Thus blending the sanctions of religion with the policy of civil government, he confirmed his power, and at the same time secured the happiness of his subjects.

His repose however was not of long duration. The Rutuli, the ancient enemies of Latium, entering into an alliance with Mezentius king of the Tyrrhenians, took the field with a design of expelling the Trojans, whose prosperity began to excite their jealousy. Æneas marched against them; and, in an engagement near the banks of the Numicus, being hardly pressed by the enemy, he was unfortunately precipitated into that river and drowned.

The Trojans had the artifice to conceal his body, and spread a report, to which the credulous superstition of his people readily listened, that he had disappeared in the heat of the action, and was translated to heaven. Accordingly a temple was erected to his honour; and he was worshipped under the title of Jupiter Indiges.

On the death of Æneas, his son Ascanius, Iulus, or Julius, who was born to him by Creusa

before the fall of Troy, assumed the reins of government; and, with remarkable prudence for a young man, acted on the defensive against his foes, till he found a favourable opportunity of attack. His measures were so well concerted, that the main body of the enemy was entirely defeated, and the heroic Lausus, the son of Mezentius, was slain in the pursuit. His father was so afflicted and disheartened by this loss, that he immediately sued for peace, which was granted him, upon condition that in future the Tiber should be the boundary between the Latin and Etrurian territories.

Meanwhile Lavinia, the mother-in-law of the reigning prince, finding herself pregnant, and fearing some violence on the part of Ascanius, fled to the covert of a forest, where she was peaceably delivered of a son, whom she named Æneas after his father, and Sylvius from the place of his birth. The king, however, finding that the disappearance of Lavinia excited suspicions injurious to his reputation, ordered the strictest search to be made after her retreat; and having discovered both her and her son, treated them with the kindest attention.

Lavinium, which had been founded by his father, daily increased in extent and population; but as it was in reality the patrimony of Lavinia, and the inheritance of her infant son, Ascanius, with a noble sense of equity, resolved to resign it to the lawful heirs, and to build a city for himself. Accordingly he founded Alba Longa, and made it the capital of his new sovereignty. Here he died after a reign of about thirty-eight years, twelve of which were spent at Alba. He left but one son, named after him, Iulus; so that

between him and Sylvius lay the right of succession to the Latin throne.

The inhabitants of Latium seeing their little kingdom on the eve of being disturbed and divided by the contending claims of the uncle and the nephew, united Alba and Lavinium under one sovereignty, which they conferred on Sylvius the son of Lavinia and daughter of Latinus, in preference to Iulus who was the offspring of a stranger. They however bestowed the sovereign pontificate on the latter, a power which henceforth continued in his family; and thus reconciled the discordant interests of the two competitors.

A succession of thirteen kings of the line of Sylvius swayed the sceptre of Latium at the city of Alba, for nearly four hundred years; but we scarcely know any thing of their histories, except their names and the duration of their reigns. It would be tedious and uninteresting to recite such a dry catalogue; suffice it to say, that at last Procas, the son of Aventinus and father of Numitor and Amulius, after a reign of twenty-three years, bequeathed the throne to his eldest son Numitor.

Amulius, however, infinitely surpassing his brother in courage and a spirit of enterprise, usurped the government; and, in order to secure his ill-gotten power by means still more nefarious, murdered his nephew Ægestus, and then compelled Rhea Sylvia, his brother's only daughter, to dedicate herself to Vesta, by which, on pain of death, she was doomed to perpetual virginity.

Thus having removed, as he imagined, all apprehensions of seeing a claimant to the throne.

spring up from the descendants of Numitor, he sat down in the enjoyment of his usurpation, which had been effected and established by such cruel and unnatural policy. The event, however, frustrated all his hopes, and disconcerted all his plans.

Rhea Sylvia in a solitary walk to a neighbouring grove in order to fetch water, was met and violated by a man whom, in palliation of her offence, she averred to be Mars, the god of war. Whoever this lover of hers might have been, whether some person who deceived her by assuming so great a name, or Amulius himself, as some writers affirm, it is impossible to determine; certain it is, that in due time she was delivered of twin boys, who were no sooner born, than devoted by the usurper to destruction. The mother was condemned to be buried alive, the usual punishment for vestals who had offended against chastity; but on the intercession of Antho, the daughter of Amulius, this sentence was changed to perpetual imprisonment. Her two infants, however, were ordered to be thrown into the Tiber, after being inclosed in one cradle. The cradle floating down the stream, was borne to the foot of the Aventine mount, and there stranded. In this situation, therefore, they continued without harm; and, that no part of their preservation might want its wonders, we are told, that they were for some time suckled by a wolf, until Faustulus, the king's herdsman, finding them thus exposed, and recognising who they were, brought them home to Acca Laurentia, his wife, who nursed them as her own. Some, however, will have it that the nurse's name was Lupa, which gave rise to

the story of their being nourished by a wolf; but where fiction so evidently prevails, it is useless to attempt to balance probabilities.

Romulus and Remus, the twins thus strangely preserved, seem early to have discovered abilities and desires above the meanness of their supposed original. The shepherd's life began to displease them; and, from tending flocks or hunting wild beasts, they soon turned their arms against the robbers who infested the country, whom they often stripped of their plunder, and shared it among their fellow-shepherds.

In one of these predatory excursions, Remus was taken prisoner by Numitor's herdsmen, who brought him before the king, and accused him of the crime which he had so often attempted to suppress. Romulus, however, being informed by Faustulus of his real birth, was not remiss in assembling a number of his fellow-shepherds, in order to rescue his brother from prison, and force the sceptre from the hands of the usurper. Yet, being too feeble to act openly, he directed his followers to assemble near the place by different ways, and, as a distinguishing ensign, to carry handfuls of hay (manipuli) tied to long poles. Meanwhile Remus with equal vigilance gained upon the citizens within. Amulius, thus beset on all sides, and not knowing what expedient to adopt for his security, was, during his amazement and distraction, taken and slain; while Numitor, who had been deposed forty-two years, recognised his grandsons, and was once more restored to the throne.

Numitor being thus secured in the quiet possession of the kingdom, his grandsons resolved to build a city upon those hills where they had

formerly kept their flocks. The king had too many obligations to them not to approve their design: he assigned them a certain territory, and gave permission to such of his subjects, as thought proper, to settle in their new colony. Many of the neighbouring shepherds also, and such as were fond of change, repaired to the projected city, and prepared to raise it. Among the new settlers, were several families which derived their lineage from the Trojans; and, in order to carry on the design with more expedition, the people were divided into two parts; each of which, it was supposed, would industriously emulate the other. But what was designed as an advantage, proved nearly fatal to this infant colony; it gave birth to two factions, one preferring Romulus, the other Remus, who themselves differed about the spot where the city should stand. To terminate this dispute, they were advised by the king to take an omen from the flight of birds; and that he whose omen proved most favourable, should in all respects have paramount authority. In compliance with this suggestion, they both took their stations upon different hills. To Remus appeared six vultures; to Romulus, twice that number: so that each party thought itself victorious; the one having the first omen, the other the most complete. This produced a contest, which was decided by a battle, wherein Remus was slain; and it is even said, by his own brother; who, being provoked at his leaping contemptuously over the city wall, struck him dead upon the spot, at the same time declaring, that none should ever insult his rising walls with impunity.

Romulus, being now eighteen years of age,

and left sole commander, began the foundation of a city that was one day to give laws to the world. It was called Rome, after the name of the founder, and built upon the Palatine hill, on which he had taken his successful omen. The city was at first almost square, and about a mile in compass, containing about a thousand houses, or rather huts. Even the palace of Romulus was built of reeds, and thatched with straw; and his government extended over a small territory of about eight miles. However, small as it appears, it was, notwithstanding, inadequately peopled; and the first method made use of to increase its inhabitants, was the opening a sanctuary for all malefactors, slaves, and such as were desirous of novelty. These came in great multitudes, and contributed to augment the number of the legislator's new subjects.

A. M. 3256. A. C. 748.

To have a just idea therefore of Rome, in its infant state, we have only to picture a collection of temporary cottages surrounded by a feeble wall of mud, rather filled with a tumultuous and vicious rabble, than with subjects used to obedience and controul: we have only to conceive men bred to rapine, living in a place that seemed merely calculated for the reception of plunder: and yet, to our astonishment, we shall find this assemblage of huts gradually rising into the most splendid piles of architecture; this tumultuous concourse uniting in the strictest bonds of society; this lawless rabble assuming the most decorous manners, and setting examples to all the world of valour, virtue, and a regard for religion.

## CHAP. II.

*From the Building of Rome to the Expulsion of Tarquin, the seventh and last King.*

SCARCELY was Rome become habitable, when its rude citizens began to think of giving some form to their constitution. Their first object was to unite liberty with legitimate authority; to form a kind of mixed monarchy, in which all power was to be adjusted and divided between the prince and the people. Romulus, by an act of uncommon generosity, or rather of policy, left them at liberty to choose their king; and they, in gratitude, concurred to elect their founder, as was probably expected. He was accordingly acknowledged as chief of their religion, sovereign magistrate of Rome, and general of the army. Besides a guard to attend his person, it was agreed that he should be preceded, wherever he went, by twelve men armed with axes tied up in a bundle of rods or fasces, who were to serve as executioners of the law, and to impress his new subjects with an idea of subjection. Yet still this authority was under very great restrictions, as the whole power of the king consisted in calling the senate together; in assembling the people; in conducting the army, when it was decreed by the other part of the constitution that they should go to war; and in appointing the questors, or treasurers of the public money; officers who, at

that time, could have but very little employment, as neither the soldiers nor magistrates received any pay.

The senate, which was to act as counsellors to the king, was composed of a hundred of the principal citizens of Rome, consisting of men whose age, wisdom, or valour, gave them a natural influence among their fellow-subjects. The king named the first senator, and appointed him to the government of the city, whenever war required the general's absence. In this respectable assembly was transacted all the important business of the state, the king himself presiding, although every question was to be determined by a majority of voices. As they were supposed to have a paternal affection for the people, they were called Fathers; and their descendants Patricians. To the Patricians belonged all the principal offices of the state, as well as of the priesthood. To these situations they were appointed by the senate and the people, while the lower ranks of citizens, excluded from all views of promotion for themselves, were to expect advantages only from their valour in war, or their assiduity in agriculture.

The Plebeians, who composed the third part of the legislature, assumed to themselves the power of sanctioning those laws which were passed by the king or the senate. All things relative to peace or war, to the election of magistrates, and even to the choosing a king, were confirmed by their suffrages. In their numerous assemblies all enterprises against the enemy were proposed, while the senate had only a negative voice. Thus was the state composed of three orders, each intended as a check upon the

other: the people resolved whether the proposals of the king were agreeable to them; the senate deliberated upon the expediency of the measure; and the king gave animation to the whole by directing the execution. But, though the people by these regulations seemed in possession of great power, yet an important circumstance contributed greatly to its diminution; namely, the rights of patronage, which were lodged in the senate. The king, sensible that in every state there must be a dependence of the necessitous upon the powerful, gave permission to every plebeian to choose one among the senators for a patron. The bond was very strong, and implied a mutuality of obligations: the patron was to give protection to his client, to assist him with his advice and fortune, to plead for him before the judge, and to rescue him from every oppression. On the other hand, the client attached himself to the interests of his patron; assisted him, if poor, to portion his daughters, to pay his debts, or his ransom, in case of being taken prisoner: he was to follow him on every service of danger; whenever he stood candidate for an office, he was obliged to give him his suffrage; and was prohibited from giving testimony in a court of justice if his evidence affected the welfare of his patron. These reciprocal duties were held so sacred, that those who violated them were ever after held infamous, and excluded from the protection of the laws: so that from hence we see the senators, in effect, were possessed of the suffrages of their clients; since all that was left the people, was only the power of choosing what patron they should obey. In a nation however, so barbarous and

fierce as the first Romans, it was politic to concentrate power, and to enforce obedience, as the only means of promoting public or private happiness.

The first care of the new-created king was to endeavour to humanise his subjects, by a belief in supernatural agency. The precise form of their worship is unknown; but the greatest part of the religion of that age consisted in a firm reliance upon the credit of their soothsayers,*

* As we shall frequently have occasion, in the course of this history, to speak of augurs, and auspices, or soothsayers, it may not be improper to give some account, in this place, of that kind of divination. The art of divination, and foretelling future events, by the flight, chirping, or motions of birds, came from the Chaldeans to the Greeks, from them to the Etrurians, and from the Etrurians to the Latins and Romans. The name of augur is derived by some *ab avium gestu*; by others, *ab avium garritu*: that is, either from the motion and actions, or from the chirping and chattering, of birds. As Romulus himself was well versed in this art, after he had divided the city into three tribes, he appointed an augur for each tribe. A fourth was added some time after, probably by Servius Tullius, who increased the tribes. These four were all chosen out of the patricians; but in the year of Rome 454, at the solicitation of the tribunes, five persons were added to the college, elected out of the common people; and, in the year 672, Sylla increased their number to fifteen. The eldest of these presided over the rest, and was honoured with the title of Magister Collegii. Their office, which we find comprised in the augural law mentioned by Tully, was to interpret dreams, oracles, prodigies, &c. and to tell whether any action should be fortunate or prejudicial to particular persons, or to the whole state. Thus they were the interpreters of the will of the gods, with respect to the making war or peace; and all were obliged to obey them in so important an article.

As to the auspices, they were so called *ab aris aspiciendis*, that is, from looking on the altars. The Roman auspices

who pretended, from observations on the flight of birds and the entrails of beasts, to direct the present, and to dive into futurity. This pious fraud, originating in the first instance from ignorance, soon became a most useful machine in the hands of government. Romulus, by an express law, commanded, that no election should be made, nor any enterprise undertaken, without first consulting the soothsayers. With equal wisdom he ordained, that no new divinities should be introduced into public worship; that the priesthood should continue for life; and that none should be eligible to this office before the age of fifty. He forbade them to mix fable with the mysteries of their religion; and, that they might be qualified to teach others, he ordered that they should be the historiographers of the times. These regulations are so judicious, that they reflect honour on the legislative talents of Romulus. It is to be lamented that their spirit and essence have not been retained, wherever a priesthood was established.

Of his other laws we have but few fragments remaining. From these however we learn, that wives were forbidden, upon any pretext what-

were all taken at first from Etruria, where their art was in great repute; but afterwards the senate ordered twelve of the sons of the chief men in Rome to be sent into that country, to learn there the rites and ceremonies of the Etruscan religion, of which this science was the chief part. The business of the auspices was to look upon the sacred victims, and by them to foretel the success of any enterprise. They took their observations from the victims before they were cut up; from their entrails after they were cut up; from the flame that used to rise while they were burning; and lastly, from the flour, bran, frankincense, wine, or water, used in the sacrifice.

soever, to separate from their husbands; while, on the contrary, the husband was empowered to repudiate the wife, and even to put her to death, with the consent of her relations, in case she was detected in adultery, in attempting to poison him, in making false keys, or even of having drunk too much wine. His laws relative to children and their parents were yet still more severe; the father had an entire power over his offspring, both of fortune and life; he could sell them or imprison them at any period of their lives, or in any stations to which they were arrived. The father might also expose his children, if born with any deformities, having previously communicated his intentions to his five nearest kindred. Our lawgiver seemed more humane even to his enemies; for his subjects were prohibited from killing them after they had surrendered, or even from selling them: his ambition only aimed at diminishing the number of his foes by converting them into friends.

After having exerted himself to increase his subjects, and to regulate them by laws, he next gave orders to ascertain their numbers. The whole amounted to but three thousand foot, and about as many hundred horsemen, capable of bearing arms. These therefore were divided equally into three tribes, and to each he assigned a different part of the city. Each of these tribes again was subdivided into ten Curiæ, or companies, consisting of a hundred men, with a centurion to command it; a priest denominated Curio to perform the sacrifices; and two of the principal inhabitants, called Duumviri, to distribute justice. According to the number of Curiæ he divided the lands into thirty parts,

reserving one portion for public uses, and another for religious ceremonies. The simplicity and frugality of the times will be best understood by observing, that a citizen was not allowed above two acres of ground for his own subsistence. Of the horsemen already mentioned, ten were chosen from each Curiæ: these were particularly appointed to surround the person of the king in battle; of them his guard was composed; and from their alacrity in war, or from some other circumstance connected with their establishment, they were called Celeres, a word equivalent to light horsemen in our language.

A government thus wisely instituted, it may well be supposed, induced numbers to claim its protection; each day indeed added to its strength; multitudes flocked in from all the adjacent towns; and it only seemed to want women to perpetuate its duration. In this exigence, Romulus, by the advice of the senate, sent deputies to the Sabines, his neighbours, entreating their alliance, and, upon the terms of intermarriages, offering to cement the most strict confederacy with them. The Sabines, who were then considered as the most warlike people of Italy, rejected the proposition with disdain; and some even added raillery to the refusal, demanding, that, as he had opened a sanctuary for fugitive slaves, why he had not also opened another for prostitute women? This uncourteous answer quickly roused the indignation of the Romans; and the king, in order to gratify their resentment, and at the same time to people his city, resolved to obtain by force what was denied to entreaty. For this purpose, he proclaimed a

feast, in honour of Neptune, throughout all the neighbouring villages, and made the most magnificent preparations for its solemnization. The Sabines, as he had expected, were among the foremost who came to be spectators, bringing their wives and daughters with them, to share the pleasures of the sight. The inhabitants also of many of the neighbouring towns attended, who were received by the Romans with marks of the most cordial hospitality. In the mean time the games began; and while the strangers were intent upon the spectacle, a number of the Roman youth rushed in among them with drawn swords, seized the youngest and most beautiful women, and carried them off by violence. In vain the parents protested against this breach of hospitality; in vain the virgins at first opposed the attempts of their ravishers; perseverance and caresses obtained those favours which timidity at first denied; so that the betrayers, from being objects of aversion, soon became the partners of their dearest affections.

But though the ladies in general were soon reconciled to their resolute lovers, their parents highly resented the affront. The citizens of Cecina, Antemnæ, and Crustuminum, were the first who resolved to revenge the common cause, which the Sabines seemed too dilatory in pursuing. These, by making separate inroads, became a more easy conquest to Romulus, who first overthrew the Cecinenses, slew their king Acron in single combat, and made an offering of the royal spoils to Jupiter Feretrius, on the same spot where the capitol was afterwards built. The Antemnates and Crustuminians shared the same fate; their armies were over-

thrown, and their cities taken. The conqueror, however, made a very merciful use of his victory; for, instead of destroying the natives or their towns, he only placed frontier colonies of Romans in them, to repress more distant invasions.

Tatius, king of Cures, a Sabine city, was the last, although the most formidable, who undertook to revenge the disgrace his country had suffered. He entered the Roman territories at the head of twenty-five thousand men; and added stratagem to a superiority in forces. Tarpeia, daughter to the commander of the Capitoline hill, happened to fall into his hands, as she went without the walls of the city to fetch water. Upon her he prevailed, by large promises, to betray one of the gates to his army. The reward she engaged for was, what the soldiers wore on their arms, by which she meant their bracelets. They, however, either mistaking her meaning, or detesting her perfidy, threw their bucklers upon her as they entered, and crushed her to death. The Sabines, being thus possessed of the Capitoline, had the advantage of continuing the war at their pleasure, and for some time only slight encounters passed between them and the Romans. The tediousness of this contest, however, began to exhaust both parties; so that each wished, but neither would stoop to sue for peace. A desire of peace often prompts the most vigorous exertions in war: both sides resolving to terminate their differences by a decisive action, a general engagement ensued, which was renewed for several days, with almost equal success. Both armies contended for all that was valuable in life, and neither could think of sub-

mitting. In the valley between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, the last engagement was fought between the Romans and the Sabines. The battle was become general, and the slaughter prodigious, when the attention of both sides was suddenly turned from the scene of horror before them to another infinitely more interesting to humanity. The Sabine women, who had been carried off by the Romans, were seen with their hair loose and their ornaments neglected, interposing between the combatants, regardless of their own danger, and only solicitous for that of their parents, their husbands, and their children. "If (cried they) you are resolved "upon slaughter, turn your arms upon us; since "we only are the cause of your animosity. If "any must die, let it be us; since, if our parents "or our husbands fall, we must in either case "be miserable in surviving them." A spectacle so moving was irresistible: both sides, for a while, as if by mutual impulse, let fall their weapons, and beheld the distress in silent amazement. The tears and entreaties of their wives and daughters at length prevailed: an accommodation ensued, by which it was agreed, that Romulus and Tatius should reign jointly in Rome, with equal power and prerogative; that an hundred Sabines should be admitted into the senate; that the city should still retain its former name, but that the citizens should be called Quirites, a name till then peculiar to the Sabines; and that both nations being thus united, such of the Sabines as were inclined, should be admitted to enjoy all the privileges of denizens in Rome. Thus every successive storm which seemed to threaten this growing empire, served

only to increase its vigour. The soldiers of that army, which in the morning had resolved upon its destruction, came in the evening with joy, to be enrolled among the number of its citizens. Romulus saw his dominions and his subjects increased by more than half in the space of a few hours; and, as if fortune meant every way to assist his ambition, Tatius,* his partner in the government, was killed about five years after by the Lavinians, in revenge for having protected some of his dependants, who had plundered them and slain their ambassadors; so that by this accident Romulus once more saw himself sole monarch in the empire he had founded.

Rome being greatly strengthened by this new accession of power, began to grow formidable to her neighbours; and it may be supposed, that pretexts for war were not wanting, when prompted by jealousy on one side, and by ambition on the other. Fidenæ and Cameria, two neighbouring cities, were subdued and taken. Veii also, one of the most powerful states of Etruria, shared nearly the same fate; after two fierce engagements they sued for peace and a league, which was granted on condition of giving up seven small towns on the Tiber, their salt-pits near that river, and a sufficient number of hostages.

Elevated by success, the conqueror enlarged his views. From being contented with those limits which had been wisely assigned to his power, he began to affect absolute sway, and

* During the co-reign of Tatius, the equestrian order, or intermediate link between the patricians and the plebeians, appears to have been instituted.

to controul those laws to which he had formerly professed implicit obedience. The senate particularly resented his arrogant conduct, as they found themselves used only as instruments to ratify the rigour of his mandates. We are not told, however, the precise manner which they employed to emancipate themselves from the tyrant; some say that he was torn in pieces in the senate-house; others, that he disappeared while reviewing his army: certain it is, that, from the secrecy of the fact, and the concealment of the body, they took occasion to persuade the multitude, that he was taken up into heaven: thus, the man whom they could not bear as a king, for political reasons, they were contented to worship as a god.

Romulus reigned thirty-seven years, and after his death had a temple dedicated to him, under the name of Quirinus; Proclus, one of the senators, solemnly affirming, that he had re-appeared to him, and desired to be invoked by that title.

In the character of this prince we find an assemblage of great and base qualities. He was temperate, brave, and politic; but irascible, proud, and cunning. The latter quality indeed probably enabled him to accomplish such great designs; to profit by the prejudices and partialities of his adherents; and to turn even the errors of his enemies to his own advantage. In a word, he seems to have been admirably fitted for the important part he performed; and while we contemplate the mighty fabric of empire, whose foundation he laid, it is impossible not to regard him with some degree of enthusiasm.

At this period Rome had become a powerful state; her forces now amounting to forty-six thousand foot and a thousand horse. As Romulus left no heir, it was difficult to unite so great a concourse of different subjects in obedience to one governor: in fact, the city seemed greatly divided in the choice of a successor. The Sabines were anxious to have a king chosen from their body, but the Romans would not consent to advance a stranger to the throne. In this perplexity the senators undertook to supply the place of a king, by taking the government, each of them in turn, for five days; and during that time, enjoying all the honours and all the privileges of royalty. This interregnum continued a whole year, when the plebeians, who saw that this method of transferring power was only multiplying their masters, insisted upon altering that mode of government, allowing the senate the power, either of nominating a king, or electing annual magistrates from among their number. The senate being thus driven to an election, for some time debated upon the proper form, till at length, it was agreed, that the party which elected, should nominate from the body of the other, so that the new king would have equal attachments to both; to the one as his countrymen, to the other as his electors. In consequence of this determination the choice being left to the Roman part of the senate, they pitched upon Numa Pompilius, a Sabine; and their nomination, which the event proved to be most judicious, was received with universal approbation by the rest of the senate and the people. A. C. 711.

Numa Pompilius, who was now about forty,

had long been illustrious for piety, justice, moderation, and an exemplary life. He was skilled in all the learning and philosophy of the Sabines, and lived at Cures, contented with a private fortune, and unambitious of public honours, though the son-in-law of king Tatius. It was not, therefore, without reluctance that he accepted the dignity which was conferred upon him; he for some time, indeed, obstinately refused it; but at length, at the request of his father, and the persuasions of the ambassadors who were sent to him from Rome, he consented to accept the delegated power. His acceptance produced such joy, that the people seemed not so much to receive a king as a kingdom; and they certainly did not over-rate the merits of their choice. No monarch could be more proper for them than Numa, at a conjuncture when the government was composed of various petty states lately subdued, and but ill united among themselves: they wanted a master who could, by his institutions and his precepts, soften their fierce dispositions, and by his example inspire them with a love of religion and virtue. Under Numa, therefore, the people soon became more submissive and social; but what gave them still greater force, if considered in the light of conquerors, was the spirit of religion, which he implanted among them. This continued to operate through a long succession of ages; for what could resist the greatest valour, when impelled by the most profound superstition?

In the reign of Numa, it is with sincere pleasure we have to contemplate only the pacific virtues, which are always most honourable to a king, and most beneficial to his people. The

whole time of this good man was spent in inspiring his subjects with a love of piety, and a veneration for the gods. He built many new temples, he instituted feasts; and the sanctity of his life gave him credit sufficient to persuade his people, that he had a particular correspondence with the goddess Egeria. By her pretended advice he built the temple of Janus,* which was to be shut in time of peace, and open in war: he ordained vestal virgins, who had very great privileges allowed them, such as that of being preceded by the fasces or ensigns of royal power, and of pardoning malefactors, in case of an accidental meeting: he instituted pontiffs, and enrolled himself among the number: he founded the orders of the Salian and Fecial priesthood, the one to preserve the sacred shields called Ancilia, which he pretended had dropped down from heaven, and which, while remaining in Rome, the city, as it was said, could never be taken; the other to judge of the equity of war, and to proclaim it with great ceremony.

For the encouragement of agriculture, he divided those lands which Romulus had gained in war, among the lower orders of the people; he softened the rigour of the laws, which his predecessor had instituted with regard to parents and children, making it unlawful for a father to sell his son after marriage, because he thought it unjust, that a woman who had married a freeman, should be constrained to live with a slave: he regulated the kalendar, and abolished the

* Janus was represented with two faces looking different ways, emblematic of that prudent foresight and retrospect which should precede the enterprises of war.

distinction between Romans and Sabines, by dividing the people according to their several occupations, and blending them into one mass. By these means both nations were brought to a perfect union. Thus having arrived at the age of eighty-three years, and having reigned forty-three in profound peace, and the exercise of the best and mildest virtues, he died, ordering his body to be buried in a stone coffin, contrary to the custom of the times, and his books of ceremonies, which consisted of twelve in Latin and as many in Greek, to be buried by his side, in another. These were taken up about four hundred years after; and because it was thought impious to communicate the mysteries they contained to the public, they were burnt by order of the senate.

A. C. 665.

In whatever light we regard the character of Numa, he is entitled to unqualified praise, though his actions afford little scope for the historian, and display nothing to dazzle and confound the unreflecting multitude. But if it be the duty of a king to promote the happiness of his subjects by preserving them in peace, and the enjoyment of freedom, Numa deserves the highest panegyric; and in our estimation will ever be the purest model for imitation that antiquity produced. The death of this patriot king was as sincerely lamented, as if every individual under his government had lost his dearest friend or his nearest relation. The sovereign power now again devolved upon the senate, and continued till the people elected Tullus Hostilius for their king, which choice had also the concurrence of the other part of the constitution. This monarch, grandson to a noble Roman, who had formerly

signalised himself against the Sabines, was every way unlike his predecessor, being entirely devoted to war, and more fond of enterprise than even the founder of the empire had been; so that he was glad of any pretext for leading his forces to the field.

The Albans were the first people who gave him an opportunity of indulging his favourite inclinations. Two neighbouring states, both eager for war, and both in some measure subsisting by plunder, can never be at a loss to colour the violence of a first aggression. A few Roman shepherds had, it seems, committed an inroad upon the territories of Alba; a number of Alban shepherds had made reprisals upon them; ambassadors were sent from each state, complaining of the injury; no redress was given, and a formal war was declared on both sides, which neither however would bear the blame of having provoked. There were indeed many reasons for making these two states unwilling to come to an open rupture; they were descended from the same original, and the ties of consanguinity still held many of them united. There were also some neighbouring states, enemies to both, that only sought an opportunity of falling upon them.

With these dispositions, and after some delays, the Roman and Alban forces at length met, about five miles from Rome, prepared to decide the fate of their respective kingdoms; for almost every battle in these barbarous times was decisive. The two armies were for some time drawn out in array, awaiting the signal to begin, both impatient to remove the dreadful suspence which kept them from death or victory. But an unexpected proposal from the Alban ge-

neral suspended the onset; for stepping in between both armies, he offered the Romans a choice of deciding the dispute by single combat: adding, that the side, whose champion was overcome, should submit to the conqueror. A proposal like this suited the impetuous temper of the Roman king, and was embraced with joy by his subjects, each of whom hoped, that himself should be chosen to fight the cause of his country. Many valiant men offered themselves, but could not be accepted to the exclusion of others, till, at last, chance suggested a remedy. There were at that time three twin brothers in each army; those of the Romans were called Horatii, and the Albans Curiatii, all remarkable for their courage, strength, and activity; to them it was resolved to commit the management of the combat. When the previous ceremony of oaths and protestations, binding the army of the vanquished party to submit to that of the victorious, was over, the combatants were led forth, amidst the encouragements, the prayers, and the shouts of their country. They were reminded of their former achievements; they were admonished, that their fathers, their countrymen, and even the gods, were spectators of their prowess. When the people, however, expected to see them rush to the combat, they dropped their arms, and embraced each other with all the marks of the most tender friendship; but at length, warmed with the importance of the cause, the champions engaged; and each, totally regardless of his own safety, sought only the destruction of his opponent. The spectators, in horrid silence, trembled at every blow, and burned to share the danger, till

at length victory, which had hitherto been doubtful, appeared to declare against the Romans: in consternation they beheld two of their champions lying dead upon the plain, and the three Curiatii, being all wounded, slowly endeavouring to pursue the survivor, who seemed by flight to elude their fury. The Alban army, unable to suppress their joy, raised a loud acclamation, while the Romans inwardly cursed the cowardice of him whom they saw in circumstances of such baseness. Soon, however, they began to alter their sentiments, when they perceived that his flight was only pretended, in order to separate his antagonists, whom he was unable to oppose united; for, quickly after stopping his course, and turning upon the nearest pursuer, he laid him dead at his feet: the second brother, advancing to assist him who was fallen soon shared the same fate: and now there remained but the last Curiatus to conquer, who, fatigued and disabled with his many wounds, slowly came up to offer an easy victory. He was killed, almost unresisting, while the conqueror exulting, offered him as a victim to the superiority of the Romans, whom now the Alban army consented to obey.

Such an achievement, attended too with such signal effects, deserved every honour Rome could bestow; but, to the disgrace of the conqueror, the hand which in the morning was exerted to save his country, was before night embrued in the blood of a sister. Returning triumphant from the field, it raised his indignation to behold her bathed in tears, and lamenting the loss of her lover, one of the Curiatii, to whom she was betrothed; but, upon seeing the

vest which she had made for her lover among the number of his spoils, and hearing her upbraidings, he was transported with passion, and slew her in a rage. This action greatly displeased the senate, and drew on himself the condemnation of the magistrates; but he was pardoned by making his appeal to the people, though his laurels were for ever tarnished.

Matters being in this posture, Hostilius resolved to avail himself of the late victory, by confirming the submission of Alba, and taking the proper steps to quell the insolence of the inhabitants of Fidenæ and Veii, who had been making preparations to shake off their subjection. His designs were crowned with success in both undertakings. A victory over the Veii restrained their attempts for some time; and as to the Fidenates, having convicted Metius Suffetius, their general, of treason, he caused him to be torn to pieces by horses. Finally, to prevent future revolts, he utterly demolished the city of Alba, and transplanted its inhabitants to Rome, many of whom he admitted into the senate.

Without pausing, he next turned his arms against the Sabines, over whom he gained a signal victory by means of his cavalry, which the enemy were incapable of withstanding. Thus every new war, which depopulates other states, seemed but to add strength and numbers to that of Rome. No sooner was the war with the Sabines over, than the king commenced a new one with the Latins, which nevertheless was managed but slowly on both sides, no battle being fought, nor any town taken except Medallia, which had formerly been obliged to accept a Roman colony, and was now permitted to be plundered, as an

example to prevent the like defection in others. This war lasted during the rest of the reign of Tullus, the latter part of which was clouded with terrors from pretended prodigies, while, at the same time, the king saw his people afflicted with a real famine, which it was not in his power to relieve. He died, after a warlike and therefore turbulent reign of thirty-two years, some say by lightning, together with his whole family; others, with more probability, by assassination; and that the fire which consumed his palace was kindled to conceal the crime.

After a short interregnum, Ancus Martius, the grandson of Numa, was elected king by the people, and the choice was afterwards confirmed by the senate. A. C. 634. As this monarch was a lineal descendant from Numa, he seemed to make him the great and deserved object of his imitation. Indeed he was by nature incapable of making any considerable figure in personal warfare, as he took his name of Ancus, from the crookedness of one of his arms, which he was incapable of extending: however, he made up this defect by the most diligent application to all the arts of peace. He revived the sacred ceremonies which had fallen into disuse; he endeavoured to persuade the people, that the calamities which lately befel them and his predecessor, were owing to a neglect of the gods; he took every occasion to encourage his subjects to return to the arts of agriculture, and to repress the love of military glory.

These institutions and precepts, however, were considered by the neighbouring powers rather as marks of cowardice than of wisdom. The Latins therefore began to make incursions upon

his territories; and by their outrages, in some measure, forced him into a war. But in this he still supported his character, and previously sent an herald to state its grounds. This officer assuming a peculiar dress, and with a javelin headed with iron in his hand, went to the confines of the enemy, solemnly proclaimed war, and then flung his weapon into their territories, with all the force he was able. The success of this war was equal to its justice; Ancus conquered the Latins, destroyed their cities, removed their inhabitants to Rome, and increased his territories by the addition of part of theirs. He quelled also an insurrection of the Veii, the Fidenates, and the Volscii, and obtained a second triumph over the Sabines.

But his victories over the enemy were all eclipsed by his pacific arts at home, in raising temples, fortifying the city, building a prison for malefactors, and forming a sea-port at the mouth of the Tiber, called Ostia, by which he secured to his subjects the trade of that river, and of the salt-pits adjacent. Nor was he less careful in encouraging strangers to settle at Rome: the privileges which they obtained, and the justice which was administered equally to all, brought numbers of the most respectable persons from different parts of Italy; who not only increased the riches of his subjects, but also tended still more to civilise them. Among others of this quality was Lucumo, who afterwards took the name of Tarquinius, and became his successor in the kingdom by the name of Lucius Tarquinius. This stranger, who was a person of great accomplishments, as well as of large possessions, was very honourably treated

by Ancus, who probably was prejudiced in his favour by an offer Tarquinius had made of depositing all his fortune in the treasury for public uses. He was therefore elected into the senate, and appointed guardian to the two sons of Ancus, who, having enriched his subjects, and beautified the city, died, after a glorious reign of twenty-four years.

Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, who was thus appointed guardian to the sons of the late king, took the surname of Tarquinius, from the city of Tarquinia, the place of his former residence. His father was a merchant of Corinth, who had acquired considerable wealth by trade, and had settled in Italy upon account of some troubles at home. His son Lucumo, who inherited his fortune, married a woman of family in the city of Tarquinia; and as his birth, profession, and country, were contemptible in the eyes of the nobles of the place, by his wife's persuasions, he removed to Rome, where merit only was entitled to distinction. On his way thither, say the historians, as he approached the city-gate, an eagle, stooping from above, took off his hat, and, flying round his chariot for some time with much noise, put it on again. This his wife Tanaquil, who, it seems, was skilled in augury, interpreted as a presage, that he should one day wear the crown; and perhaps it was this circumstance which first fired his ambition to obtain it: accordingly, being possessed of great riches, all his actions and expences seemed to aim at popularity. His elegant address, his frequent invitations, and the many benefits he conferred, gained the esteem and admiration of a people, who were yet un- A. C. 610.

skilled in the arts of intrigue, and naturally captivated with the appearance of generosity.

On the death of Ancus, the kingdom, as usual, devolving upon the senate, Tarquin exerted all his influence to set aside the children of the late king, and to obtain the crown for himself. For this purpose, upon the day appointed for election, he contrived to have the young princes sent out of the city; and in a speech to the people, in which he urged his friendship for them, the fortune he had spent, and his knowledge of their government, he offered himself for their king. As this harangue reflected only the image of truth, it produced the desired effect, and the people, with one consent, elected him their sovereign.

A kingdom thus obtained by intrigue was, notwithstanding, governed with equity. In the beginning of his reign, that he might gratify his friends, he added a hundred members to the senate, which now increased the number to three hundred. He likewise added three to the vestal virgins, heretofore only four, and laid the foundations of an amphitheatre for the combats of men and beasts, which were afterwards carried to a horrid excess. The first shows, however, were only horse-racing and boxing; in which men, hired for that purpose from Etruria, fought with gauntlets for a prize. But these simple and comparatively innocent exhibitions gradually gave way to those of a more cruel and sanguinary nature, till, in a later age, two thousand gladiators were seen at once expiring, or dead upon the stage!

It was not long, however, before these peaceful pursuits were interrupted by the inroads of

his restless neighbours, particularly the Latins, over whom he triumphed, and forced to beg a peace. He then turned his arms against the Sabines, who had risen once more, and had passed over the river Tiber upon a bridge of boats, in order to plunder the Roman territories, and, if possible, to sack the city. Tarquin, however, soon came up with them on the banks of the river, and setting fire to a large heap of wood that laid by its side, ordered it to be thrown in. The burning wood, floating down the stream, set fire to the enemy's bridge, and intercepted their retreat. Nor did he permit them to take measures for opposing him; but attacking them with vigour, routed their army; so that many, who escaped the sword, were drowned in attempting to cross over, while their bodies and armour, floating down to Rome, brought news of the victory, even before the messengers could arrive that were sent to announce this agreeable event.

Tarquin, resolving not to give the Sabines time to recover from this defeat, followed them into their own country; where, by another victory, he obliged them to sue for peace, which they obtained, at the expence of a considerable part of their territories, and of Collatia, a large city, five miles east of Rome. These conquests were followed by several advantages over the Latins, from whom he took many towns, though without gaining any decisive victory.

Tarquin, having thus forced his enemies into submission, was resolved to guard his subjects from habits of indolence: he undertook several public works for the convenience and embellishment of the city. He surrounded it with stronger and more ex-

tensive walls; he adorned the Forum, or market-place, with porticoes; he made many sewers to drain the city, some of which excite the admiration of travellers to this day: he improved the amphitheatre which his predecessor had begun, and laid the foundation of the Capitol, which, however, he did not live to finish.

In his reign also the augurs increased in reputation; as he found it his interest to promote the superstition of the people, which was in fact but to increase their obedience. Tanaquil, his wife, was a great pretender to this art; but Accius Nævius was the most celebrated adept of the kind that was ever known in Rome. Upon a certain occasion, Tarquin, being sensible of his want of cavalry, had some intentions of doubling their former number; but he was restrained by the augur, who declared, that it was forbidden by the gods to alter any of the institutions of their founder. The king, as historians say, being in a violent passion upon this declaration, resolved to try the augur's skill, and asked him, in derision, whether what he was then pondering in his mind could be effected? Nævius, having examined his auguries, boldly affirmed that it might: "Why then," cries the king with an insulting smile, "I had thoughts of cutting this whet-stone with a razor."—"Cut boldly," replied the augur; and the king cut it through accordingly.* Whether this was done by collusion does not appear, but certain it is, that thenceforward nothing was undertaken in Rome without

* This miracle constantly passed for authentic at Rome; yet Cicero ventured to ridicule it. An *esoteric* and an *exoteric* doctrine was common among the ancient philosophers.

consulting the augurs, and obtaining their advice and approbation. No assembly was dismissed, nor army levied; no battle fought, nor peace restored, without referring to the chirping and the flight of birds, which, as it may be supposed, the augurs made to speak whatever language they pleased.

The ambition of Tarquin, not contented with a kingdom, tempted him to assume the ensigns of royalty also; such as a crown of gold, an ivory throne, a sceptre with an eagle on the top, and robes of purple. It was, perhaps, the splendour of these royalties that first raised the envy of the late king's sons, who had now for above thirty-seven years quietly submitted to his government. His design also of adopting Servius Tullius, his son-in-law, for his successor, might have contributed to inflame their resentment. Whatever was the cause of their tardy vengeance, they resolved to destroy him; and, at last, found means to effect their purpose by hiring two ruffians, who, demanding to speak with the king, under the pretence that they came for justice, struck him dead in his palace with the blow of an axe. The lictors, however, who waited upon the person of the king, seized the murderers, who were attempting to escape: these were put to death; but the sons of Ancus, who were the instigators, found safety by flight.

Thus fell Lucius Tarquinius (surnamed Priscus, in order to distinguish him from one of his successors of the same name,) at the advanced age of eighty years, and the thirty-eighth year of his reign. Being of Greek extraction, he, in some manner, introduced part of the polite arts of that country among his subjects; and,

though the Romans were at this period very far from being civilized, yet they had made considerable progress in refinement, compared with the surrounding nations.

A. C. 573. The murder of Tarquin was no sooner rumoured abroad, than the citizens ran from every quarter to the palace, to learn the truth of the account, or to take vengeance on the assassins. In this tumult, Tanaquil, widow of the late king, considering the danger she must incur, in case the conspirators should succeed to the crown; and desirous of having her son-in-law for his successor, with great art dissembled her sorrow, as well as the king's death. She assured the people, from one of the windows of the palace, that he was not killed, but stunned by the blow; that he would shortly recover; and that, in the mean time, he had deputed his power to Servius Tullius, his son-in-law. Servius, accordingly, as it had been agreed upon between them, issuing from the palace, adorned with the ensigns of royalty, and preceded by his lictors, immediately proceeded to dispatch some affairs that related to the public safety; still pretending, that he took all his instructions from the king. This artifice was successfully kept up for some days, till he had secured his elevation among the nobles: when the death of Tarquin being publicly ascertained, Servius obtained the crown solely, by the senate's appointment, and without attempting to gain the suffrages of the people.

Servius was the son of a bondwoman, who had been taken at the sacking of Corniculum, and was born when his mother was a slave. While yet an infant in his cradle, a lambent flame is

said to have played round his head, which Tanaquil, with her wonted address, converted into an omen of his future greatness. Impressed with this opinion, she gave him the best education of the times, and soon after raised him to the honour of being her son-in-law, and appointed him, when the king grew old, to the management of affairs, both foreign and domestic. His conduct in this station gained him the good-will of the people, and, what he valued still more, the esteem of the senate.

Upon being acknowledged as king, the chief object of his care was to increase the power of the senate by depressing that of the people; an enterprise attended with extreme difficulty and danger. To compass his intention, he was obliged to work by stratagem; and, by seeming to study their interest, bring about a measure that should effectually destroy their authority. The Roman citizens had hitherto been taxed singly, and each paid an equal share to the necessities of the state. This method of contributing to the public exigencies, he very plausibly pretended, was extremely unjust, and proposed one of a more equitable kind, by which every citizen should be taxed according to his fortune. The populace, who were unable to dive into his designs, received his project with loud acclamations, and conferred upon him a full power of settling the taxes as he should think proper. To begin, therefore, he ordered an exact enumeration to be made of the citizens of Rome, their children and servants, and also a just valuation of their estates and substance. Their numbers were found to amount to above fourscore thousand men, capable of bearing arms:—a vast increase in the

space of one hundred and seventy-five years, which had elapsed since the building of Rome. These he divided into six classes; in the first of which he comprised the body of the senate, the patricians, and all those whose fortunes were above eleven hundred thousand asses, or about three hundred and sixty-six pounds of our money; at that time no contemptible fortune. This class he sub-divided into four-score centuries, or companies, one half of which, being composed of the most aged and respectable persons, were to remain at home for the defence of the city; the other half, composed of the youthful and vigorous, were to follow the general, and to march into the field. Their weapons were a javelin, a spear, and a sword; their armour, a helmet, a cuirass, and cuishes of brass. In this class also were comprised the knights or horsemen, which consisted of eighteen centuries, with two more of the machinists, who followed the camp. The second class, which consisted but of twenty-two centuries or companies, was composed of those who were worth above seventy-five thousand asses; these were accoutred in the same manner with the first class, only, instead of a shield, they carried a target. The third class consisted of twenty centuries, and was composed of such as were worth fifty thousand asses. The fourth class consisted of a similar number of centuries, and was composed of such as were worth twenty-five thousand asses. In the fifth class were thirty centuries, and the qualification was eleven thousand asses: these were chiefly employed as slingers and irregulars in the army. In the last and lowest class there was but one century, and it seemed to be con-

sidered as of no advantage to the state, except of rearing children, who might one day be useful. This class paid no taxes, and was dispensed with from going to war. In all these classes, as in the first, a part, consisting of the old men, were ordained to remain at home for the defence of the city, and the more youthful to fight abroad in their armies. Thus the whole number of the citizens was divided into a hundred and seventy-three centuries, each commanded by a centurion of distinguished valour and experience.

The citizens being ranked in this manner, were next to be taxed, but not as formerly equally and individually, but by centuries; each century being obliged to supply an equal share to the exigencies of government. By these means, as the people were extremely numerous in the centuries of the inferior classes, their quota of taxation was proportionably small. It cannot indeed be doubted but this partial exemption from taxes was highly grateful to the populace, but they little considered that they were to purchase it at the expence of their former power: for it was but reasonable, that, as the senators and the rich contributed most to the necessities of the state, they should also have a proportionable influence in managing its concerns. Accordingly, as they paid their taxes by centuries, it was ordained, that they should give their votes, in all public transactions, by centuries also. In deliberations on the affairs of state, each citizen had hitherto given his suffrage singly, and the numbers of the poor always carried the vote against the power of the rich; but by the regulations of Servius, the senate, consisting

of a greater number of centuries than all the other classes put together, now entirely outweighed them in every decision. The plebeians, by this stroke of policy, had only the shadow of authority left; with which, however, for some ages, they seemed sufficiently contented, until the increasing luxury of the times taught one side the abuse of power; and the other, a pride that disdained subordination, even to legitimate authority.

In order to ascertain the increase or decay of his subjects and their fortunes, Tullius instituted another regulation, which he called a lustrum;* by which all the citizens were to assemble in the Campus Martius, in complete armour, and in their respective classes, once every five years, there to deliver in an exact account of their families and fortune. He permitted slaves also to be set free by their masters, and caused such as were thus manumitted to be distributed among the lower classes of the city. This excited an emulation in that depraved body of men to deserve well of their masters and the public; and tended, with the other regulations of Servius, to introduce order, connection, and confidence into all the departments of government.

The king, having thus enjoyed a long reign, chiefly employed in settling the domestic policy of the state, was, at the same time, not inattentive to foreign concerns. He overthrew the Etrurians in many battles, triumphed over them

* From this circumstance, the Romans frequently designated their age by *lustra*, or so many periods of five years; thus, when Horace, in one of his Odes, says that he has passed his eighth *lustrum*, he means that he was more than forty years old.

three several times; and conceived reasonable hopes of concluding his reign in tranquillity and ease. He even entertained the generous intention of laying down his power, and, having formed the kingdom into a republic, to retire into obscurity; but this noble design was frustrated ere it could be put into execution, in a manner now to be explained.

In the beginning of his reign, Servius Tullius, in order to secure his throne by every precaution, had married his two daughters to the two grandsons of Tarquin; and, as he knew that the women were of opposite dispositions, as well as their intended husbands, he resolved to check their natural propensities, by giving each to him of a contrary turn of temper: her that was meek and gentle, to him that was bold and furious; her that was ungovernable and proud, to him that was remarkable for a contrary character: by these means he supposed, that each would correct the failings of the other, and that the mixture would be productive only of concord and happiness. The event, however, as might have been foreseen, proved otherwise. Lucius, his haughty son-in-law, soon grew displeased with the meekness of his consort, and placed his whole affections upon Tullia, his brother Aruns' wife, who answered his passion with sympathetic ardour. As their wishes were ungovernable, they soon resolved to break through every restraint that prevented their union: both undertook to murder their consorts, which having effected, they were accordingly soon after married. One crime ever produces another: from the destruction of their consorts, they proceeded to conspire that of the king. They be-

gan by raising factions against him, alleging his illegal title to the crown; which Lucius claimed as heir to Tarquin. But Tullius, by his prudence and great moderation, defeated this design; and his conduct was universally applauded by the senate and the people; which brought Lucius to a feigned repentance on his part, and produced a real reconciliation on that of the king. Tullia, however, still urged on her husband's ambition, which was already on fire. He continued his intrigues among the senators; attaching the old to him, by putting them in mind of their obligations to his family; and the young, with gifts for the present, and promises of much greater things upon his coming to the crown. At length, when he found them ripe for seconding his views, he entered the senate-house, adorned with all the ensigns of royalty, and placing himself upon the throne, began to harangue them upon the obscurity of the king's birth, the injustice of his title, and such other topics as an unprincipled intriguer is at no loss to find or invent. While he was speaking, Servius entered, attended by a few followers, and seeing his throne thus rudely invaded, attempted to push the usurper from his seat; but Tarquin, being in the vigour of youth, threw the old king down the steps which led to the throne; and some of the conspirator's adherents, being instructed for that purpose, followed the aged monarch, as he was feebly attempting to get to the palace, and dispatched him by the way, throwing his body, all mangled and bleeding, as a public spectacle, into the street. In the mean time, Tullia, burning with impatience for the event, being informed of what her husband had

done, and resolving to be among the first who should salute him as monarch, ordered her chariot to drive to the senate-house, where her savage joy petrified the humane, and disgusted even the engines of her atrocious crimes. But they were still more shocked upon her return. As her charioteer approached the place where the body of the old king, her father, laid exposed and bloody, the man, terrified at the horrid sight, offered to turn another way; but this only served to inflame the fierceness of her rage: she threw the footstool at his head, and, shocking to relate, ordered him to drive over the dead body without hesitation.

This was the end of Servius Tullius, a prince of eminent justice and moderation, after an useful and prosperous reign of forty-four years. Though the dominions of Rome had been but little increased by him; yet they acquired a stability under his government, which far exceeded the transient splendour of an extensive but hasty conquest. In a word, no king ever better understood the art of making his power subservient to the happiness of his people; while his policy disarmed surrounding enemies, or converted them into friends or subjects.

Lucius Tarquinius, who afterwards acquired the surname of Superbus, or the Proud, having placed himself upon the throne, in consequence of this parricide, was resolved to support his dignity with the same violence with which it was acquired. Regardless of the senate or the people's approbation, he seemed to claim the crown by an hereditary right, and refused the late king the rights of sepulture, under the pretence of his being an A. C. 529.

usurper. The virtuous part of mankind, however, looked upon his accession with detestation and horror; and this act of unexampled and unnecessary cruelty only served to confirm their hatred. Conscious of this, he ordered all such as he suspected to have been attached to Servius to be put to death; and, fearing the natural consequences of his tyranny, he kept a guard of foreign mercenaries round his person, which was ready to execute his orders, however cruel or unjust.

His chief policy seems to have been to keep the people always employed, either in wars or public works, by which means he diverted their attention from his unlawful method of coming to the crown, and the manner in which he exercised his authority. With this view, he first marched against the Sabines, who refused to pay him obedience, and soon reduced them to submission. He next commenced a war with the Volsci, which continued for some ages after, and from these he took Suessa Pometia, a considerable town, about twenty-six miles east of Rome. The city of the Gabii gave him much more trouble; for, having attempted, with some loss, to besiege it, he was obliged to recur to stratagem, contrary to the usual practice of the Romans. To effectuate his designs, he caused his son Sextus to counterfeit desertion, upon pretence of barbarous usage, and to seek refuge among the inhabitants of the place. There, by artful complaints and studied lamentations, he so far excited the pity and won on the affections of the people, as to be chosen their governor, and soon after general of their army. At first in every engagement he appear-

ed successful, till at length, finding himself entirely possessed of the confidence of the state, he sent a trusty messenger to his father for instructions. Tarquin made no reply; but taking the messenger into the garden, he cut down before his face the tallest poppies. Sextus readily understood the meaning of this action, and on plausible pretexts either destroyed or removed the principal men of the city, one by one, still taking care to divide their effects among the people. The charms of plunder kept the giddy populace blind to their approaching ruin, till they found themselves, at last, without counsellors or head; and in the end fell under the power of Tarquin, without even striking a blow. After this he made a league with the Æqui, and renewed that which had been entered into by his predecessor, with the Etrurians.

But, while engaged in wars abroad, he took care not to suffer the people to languish in idleness at home. He undertook to build the Capitol, the foundation of which had been laid in a former reign, and an extraordinary event contributed to hasten the execution of his design. A woman, in strange attire, made her appearance at Rome, and introducing herself to the king, offered to sell nine books, which she said were of her own composing. Not knowing the abilities of the author, or that she was, in fact, one of the celebrated Sibyls, whose prophecies were never found to fail, Tarquin refused to buy them. Upon this she departed, and burning three of her books, returned again, demanding the same price for the six remaining. Being once more despised as an impostor, she again departed; and burning three more, returned

with the remainder, still asking the same price as at first. Tarquin, surprised at the inconsistency of her behaviour and the perseverance of her application, consulted the augurs on such an uncommon emergency. They much blamed him for not buying the nine, and intreated him to purchase the three remaining, at whatsoever price they were to be had. The woman, says the historian, after selling and delivering the three prophetic volumes, and advising him to pay a special regard to their contents, vanished from before him, and was never after seen. Tarquin chose proper persons to keep them, who, though but two at first, were afterwards increased to fifteen, under the name of Quindecemviri. These sacred books were deposited in a stone chest, and a vault in the newly-designed building was thought the most proper place to lodge them in safety, from which they were taken only on particular emergencies. The work was carried on with great vigour; and as omens and prodigies were frequent in this ignorant age, in digging the foundations, a man's head, named Tolus, was said to be found, which, though he had been many years dead, still bled afresh, as if he had been newly slain. This prodigy gave the building the name of Capitol (Caput Toli.) It was two hundred feet long, two hundred high, and almost as many broad, dedicated to Jupiter as paramount divinity, but containing two temples more, under the same roof, consecrated to Juno and Minerva. A structure so magnificent was, in some measure, an indication of the progress of arts in Rome, not less than of piety in the people. But pacific pursuits were not sufficient to draw off the attention of the Romans

from the contemplation of the misery they suffered under this tyrant, whose cupidity nothing could escape, whose informers swarmed everywhere, and who forbade the people to assemble without his authority, lest they should conspire to emancipate themselves from his despotism. Indeed, day after day, he exhibited new proofs of the tyranny of his government, and the cruelty of his disposition. Having been for four years employed in building the Capitol, Tarquin found new occupations necessary; and accordingly proclaimed war against the Rutuli, upon a frivolous pretence of their having entertained some malefactors whom he had banished, and invested their chief city Ardea, which lay about sixteen miles from Rome. While the army was encamped before this place, the king's son Sextus, with Collatinus, a noble Roman, and some others, sat drinking together in a tent. The discourse happening to turn on the beauty and virtue of their wives, each man extolling his own with singular commendations, Collatinus offered to decide the dispute, by putting it to an immediate trial, whose wife should be found possessed of the greatest beauty, and most sedulously employed at that very hour. Being heated with wine, the proposal was relished by the whole company; and taking horse without delay, they posted to Rome, though the night was already pretty far advanced. There they found Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, not like the other women of her rank, spending her time in ease and luxury, but spinning in the midst of her maids, and cheerfully portioning out their tasks. Her modest beauty, and the easy reception she gave her husband and his friends,

so charmed them all, that they unanimously gave her the preference; and Sextus became so much inflamed with love, that nothing but enjoyment could satisfy his criminal passion.

To accomplish his nefarious purpose, he went from the camp to visit her privately a few days after, and received the same kind treatment which he met with before. As the innocence of Lucretia kept her blind to any insidious designs, she sat down with her guest at supper, and ordered a chamber to be got ready for him in the house. Midnight was the time in which this ruffian thought it safest to put his guilty intentions in execution. Having found means to convey himself into her chamber, he approached her bed-side with a drawn sword, and rudely laying his hand upon her bosom, threatened her with instant death, if she refused to yield to his passion. Lucretia affrighted out of her sleep, and seeing death so near, was yet inexorable to his desire, till being told, that, if she would not comply, he would first kill her, and then laying his own slave also dead by her side, he would report, that he had detected and killed them both in the act of adultery, the terror of infamy was more powerful than that of death; she consented to his desire, and the next morning the ravisher returned to the camp, exulting in his brutal victory. In the mean time Lucretia, detesting the light, and resolving not to endure even an involuntary crime, sent for her husband Collatinus, and for Spurius, her father, to come to her without delay, as an indelible disgrace had befallen the family. They instantly obeyed the summons, bringing with them Valerius, a kinsman of her father's, and

Junius Brutus, a reputed idiot, whose father Tarquin had murdered, and who had accidentally met the messenger by the way. Their arrival only served to increase Lucretia's poignant anguish; they found her in a state of stedfast desperation, and vainly attempted to give her relief by palliating the deed, to which she had been forced to be accessary. "No! (said she) "never shall I find any thing worth living for "in this life, after having lost my honour. You "see, my Collatinus, a polluted wretch before "you; one whose person has been the spoil of "another, but whose affections were never-es-"tranged from you. Sextus, under the pre-"tended veil of friendship, has this night wrest-"ed from me that treasure which death only "can restore; but, if you have the hearts of "men, remember to avenge my cause, and let "posterity know, that she who has lost her vir-"tue hath only death for her best consolation." So saying, she drew a poignard from beneath her robe, and, instantly plunging it in her bosom, expired without a groan. The whole company remained for some time in the alternate emotions of sorrow, pity, admiration, and rage; Spurius and Collatinus, at length, gave vent to their grief in tears: but Brutus drawing the poignard, reeking from Lucretia's wound, and lifting it up towards heaven, "Be witness, ye "gods, (he cried) that from this moment I "proclaim myself the avenger of the chaste "Lucretia's cause: from this moment I profess "myself the enemy of Tarquin and his lustful "house: from henceforth shall this life, while "life continues, be employed in opposition to "tyranny, and for the happiness and freedom

"of my dear country." A new amazement seized the hearers, to find him, who had heretofore been considered as an idiot, now appearing in his real character, the friend of justice and of Rome. He explained the mystery, adding, that tears and lamentations were unmanly, when vengeance called so loud; and delivering the poignard to the rest, imposed the same oath upon them, which he himself had just taken.

On this illustrious character it is necessary to expatiate at some length, though we find it impossible to love the man. Junius Brutus was the son of Marcus Junius, a noble Roman, who was married to the daughter of Tarquinius Priscus, and for that reason, through a motive of jealousy, put to death by Tarquin the Proud. Junius had received an excellent education from his father, and possessed from nature, strong sense, and an inflexible attachment to virtue; but perceiving that Tarquin had privately murdered his father and his eldest brother, he assumed the behaviour of a fool, in order to escape the same danger; and thence obtained the surname of Brutus. Tarquin, thinking his folly real, despised the man; and, having taken possession of his estate, kept him as an idiot in his house merely with a view of making sport for his children. It happened, in a time of threatened danger, that Brutus was sent with Tarquin's two sons to consult the oracle of Delphi, upon the methods expedient to avert the calamity. The sons were pleased with his company, and laughed to see him offer his staff at the shrine of Apollo; which, however, was a much more valuable present to the god than theirs, as it had been hollowed, and then filled

with gold. The young men, after executing their father's commands, next enquired of the oracle, which of them should be king of Rome? to which it was answered, that he who first kissed his mother should gain the kingdom. In consequence of this declaration, Tarquin's sons resolved to kiss their mother at the same time, and thus reign together. Brutus, however, who dived into the real meaning of the oracle, as soon as they were arrived in Italy, pretended accidentally to fall down, and kissing the earth, saluted her whom he considered as the general parent of all. From that time, he conceived the design of being the deliverer of his country, and of expelling the tyrant Tarquin and his whole family from Rome.

The opportunity he had much wished for, of delivering his country from a tyrant who had long harassed it with impunity, seemed now to be arrived. Brutus procured with all expedition the gates of the city to be shut, till the people could be assembled, and a public decree for Tarquin's banishment obtained. Accordingly, he caused Lucretia's dead body to be exposed to view in the public forum; while the citizens, who ran tumultuously from all quarters to see it, were at first impressed with pity, which soon after was changed into rage and ungovernable fury. This was the disposition which he sought to encourage. He, therefore, added fuel to their ardour by a display of the horrid transaction; and by the glorious hopes of future freedom, he obtained a decree of the senate, that Tarquin and his family should be for ever banished from Rome: and that it should be capital for any to plead his cause or attempt to promote his return.

Tarquin, in the mean time, having heard of these commotions, flew with the utmost expedition to Rome, in hopes of being able to quell and punish the delinquents; but finding the gates shut, and the walls full of armed men, he prepared to return, filled with indignation, to the camp: but Brutus had taken care to anticipate him; for, expeditiously getting to the army by another road, he acquainted the soldiers with what had been done in the city, Lucretia's unhappy fate, and how the senate and people had determined to revenge the atrocious deed, as well as a long train of regal crimes. The same sentiments of humanity which had impelled the citizens, affected the army also. They agreed to act with their friends at home; and when Tarquin came back, they refused to receive him. Thus the tyrant, who had now reigned twenty-five years, being justly expelled his kingdom, sought a precarious asylum with his family at Cira, a little town of Etruria. In the mean time, the Roman army made a truce with the enemy, and Brutus was proclaimed deliverer of his country.

With Tarquin ended the kingly government of Rome, after it had continued two hundred and forty-five years, and was still rising with a gradual, but slow increase. Although, at the time of Tarquin's expulsion, the territory of the Romans was not above forty miles long, and thirty broad, yet their power and population were immense, and they possessed that vigour which bodies of a slow growth are generally found to enjoy. The history of few nations indeed can furnish a succession of kings replete with more virtue and moderation than those who first governed in Rome; it was from their wise

institutions, that the people seemed to acquire all that courage, that piety, and that patriotism, which afterwards operated in conquering mankind. Their subjects undoubtedly possessed all the rude fierceness of the times; but it must have been owing to the monarchs only, that their very enemies reaped the benefit of their victories; it must have been the general's virtue alone that could protect those whom the soldier's valour had subdued. The Grecian legislators had the advantage of copying from the Egyptians; but the Romans were placed in the midst of nations far more barbarous than themselves, and the wise regulations of their rulers, were chiefly of their own formation. Hitherto, however, we only see the genius of the nation making faint struggles to get free from her native ferocity, obstructed by custom at home, and barbarous example abroad; upon particular occasions, exerting a nobleness of mind; still aiming at conceived virtue, and even in infancy majestic; but nothing had yet occurred that could give the promise of universal empire; nor did the views and achievements of the Roman kings extend beyond the occasion that gave them birth.

## CHAP. III.

*From the banishment of Tarquin to the Creation of the Tribunes of the People.*

A. C. 506. U. C. 242. BY the demerits of the family of Tarquin and the courage and address of Brutus, the regal power being thus overthrown,* a form of government, nominally republican, was substituted in its room. The senate, however, reserved by far the greatest share of the authority to themselves, and decorated their own body with all the trappings of despoiled monarchy. The centuries of the people chose from among the senators, instead of a king, two annual magistrates, whom they called consuls, with power equal to that of the regal, and with the same privileges, and the same ensigns of authority. Though the liberty of the people was but very little increased by this innovation, yet to it Rome afterwards, in a great measure, owed its unequalled though destructive grandeur. In the life of a king, or of any individual in easy circumstances, there are many periods of indolence and of passion, that serve to divert him from the public good: but

* The Tarquins seem to have been deservedly proscribed; but that, after all their obligations to royalty, the Romans should have proscribed the regal authority also, would appear unaccountable, were it not known, that the people when once set in motion and made conscious of their power, always run into extremes, and often to their own ruin.

in a commonwealth, governed by magistrates annually chosen, each has no time to lose; and, to attain his ambition, all his exertions must be crowded within a very narrow space. Hence it is, that those magistrates were ever ambitious of engaging in some new war, and pointing out fresh enemies to be conquered; for power entrenched behind authority is never at a loss to find a victim. The people, thus kept continually in arms, attained the most perfect knowledge of the military arts, and were better enabled to adopt the beneficial improvements of the various nations they were led to engage.

Brutus, the author of this revolution, and Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, were the first who were raised to the dignity of consuls in Rome. They immediately revived the laws for assembling the people, which had been discontinued during the late tyrant's reign; but, that their newly-acquired liberty should be prevented from degenerating into licentiousness, several officers relative to the priesthood were appointed, and new sacrifices ordained, in order to strengthen the civil power by the firmest sanctions of religion. This new republic, however, which seemed so grateful to the people, had nearly been destroyed in its very commencement. A party was formed in Rome in favour of Tarquin. Some young men of the principal families in the state, who had been educated about the king, and had participated in all the luxuries and pleasures of the court, undertook to re-establish monarchy. They were naturally disgusted with the gloomy austerity of a republican form of government, in which the laws, inflexible and severe, make no distinctions

of birth or fortune. Their party secretly increased every day, and, what may create our surprise, were it not known that political animosity absorbs every feeling of nature, even the sons of Brutus, and the Aquilii, the nephews of Collatinus, were among the number. Tarquin, who was informed of these intrigues in his favour, resolved to advance them by every art in his power, and accordingly sent ambassadors from Etruria to Rome, under a pretence of reclaiming the crown, and demanding the effects which he had left behind him; but in reality with a design to give spirit to his faction, and to draw over to it as many as he possibly could. They accordingly went on with spirit and success, holding their private meetings at the house of one of the conspirators; and already the restoration of the king and the death of the consuls was resolved upon, when the whole fabric of their hopes was at once levelled in the dust. A slave, named Vindicius,* who had accidentally hid himself in the room where the conspirators used to assemble, overhearing the conversation, laid open their designs to the consuls, who gave orders to have the conspirators secured and brought to justice, and among these were found the sons of Brutus. Few situations could have been more terribly affecting than this, of a father placed as a judge upon the life and death of his own children; impelled by justice to condemn, and by nature to spare them. The young men when accused,

* As a reward for his fidelity, this man obtained his liberty and the privileges of a Roman citizen, together with a certain sum of money to be paid out of the public treasury.

did not attempt to say a word in their defence; but, with conscious guilt, awaited their sentence in silent agony. The other judges, who were present, felt all the pangs of nature; Collatinus wept, and Valerius could not repress his sentiments of pity. Brutus alone seemed to have lost all the softness of humanity, and all the yearnings of parental affection. With a stern countenance and a tone of voice that marked his fixed resolution, he demanded of his two sons if they could make any defence to the crimes with which they had been charged. This demand he made three several times; but receiving no answer, he at length turned himself to the lictors, "Now (exclaimed he) it is your part to perform the rest." Thus saying, he again resumed his seat with an air of determined majesty; nor could all the sentiments of paternal pity, the imploring looks of the people, nor the dreadful situation of the young men who were preparing for execution, alter his stern decision. The executioner having stripped, and then whipped the conspirators with rods, presently after beheaded them; Brutus all the time beholding the cruel spectacle with a steady look and unaltered countenance, while the multitude gazed on with all the mingled sensations of pity, wonder, and horror.

The stoical apathy of Brutus, during the execution of his two sons, served greatly to increase his authority among a people of ferocious character; but the lenity of his colleague Collatinus was considered in a very different light: his having humanely attempted to save the Aquilii, his nephews, rendered him suspected by the citizens. He was accordingly deposed

from the consulship, and banished Rome; and Valerius, afterwards surnamed Publicola, from his regard to the people, was elected consul in his room.

Frustrated in his hopes of an insurrection being excited in his favour by domestic adherents, Tarquin resolved to force himself upon his former throne by foreign assistance; and to that end prevailed upon the Veians to assist him, and with a considerable army advanced towards Rome.

The consuls were not remiss in their preparations to oppose him. Valerius commanding the foot, and Brutus the cavalry, went out to meet him on the Roman frontiers. Aruns, the son of Tarquin, who headed his father's cavalry, seeing Brutus at a distance, was resolved, by one great effort, to decide the fate of the day, without bringing the armies into action; wherefore, spurring on his horse, he made toward him with ungovernable fury. Brutus, who perceived his approach, quitted from the ranks to meet him: and both began the conflict with such rage, that, eager only to assail, and thoughtless of defending, they fell dead upon the field together. A bloody battle ensued, with equal slaughter on both sides; but the Romans, remaining in possession of the field of battle, claimed the victory; and in consequence, Valerius returned in triumph to Rome. Such was the end of Brutus, a man who, whatever praise he may deserve for emancipating his country from a tyrant, possessed none of those amiable qualities that engage our affections. He was of a gloomy and even splenetic disposition; and from the long dissimulation he had prac-

tised from policy, became at last tainted in reality with that mean vice. Violent in his resolutions, nothing intimidated him from his purpose: superior to the attachments of nature, every thing was rendered subordinate to his passion for power and popularity. Such has ever been the prevailing character of the factious great, who differ only in their objects from the most flagitious profligates.

Brutus, being thus removed without having completed his year, Valerius continued for some time to enjoy the dignity without a colleague, which excited the jealousies of the people, from the apprehension that he had thoughts of aspiring to the crown. A palace which he had built with some magnificence, upon an eminence, augmented these suspicions; and it was reported, that he had intentions of converting it into a fortress, in order to awe the city. Valerius, however, soon quieted their fears, by ordering his palace to be pulled down; and, to shew the rectitude of his intentions, made several laws, abridging the power of the senate, and extending that of the people. By one, he allowed an appeal from the consuls to the people; by another, he made it death for any man to assume the office of magistrate without the people's consent; a third gave power to any man to kill the person, unheard, who affected the supreme power, if he could prove the crime. He also appointed questors, or treasurers, who were to have the management of the public money, and the care of accommodating ambassadors. Still more to ingratiate himself with the public, which is frequently directed in its judgment more by appearances than reality, he

ordered the rods which the lictors carried to be separated from the axes; intimating thereby, that the power of capitally punishing was no longer vested in the consuls, but the people. Having thus satisfied their scruples,* he chose Spurius Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, for his colleague in the consulship; who, dying a short time after, was succeeded by Horatius; and the time of annual election coming on soon after, Valerius was chosen a second time, and with him Titus Lucretius. These having numbered the people, they were found to amount to a hundred and thirty thousand persons, besides widows and orphans.

In the mean time, Tarquin, neither intimidated by his misfortunes, nor desisting from his pretensions, still formed alliances in order to regain the crown. In particular, he prevailed upon Porsenna, one of the kings of Etruria, to espouse his cause, and in person undertake his quarrel. This prince, equally remarkable for courage and conduct, marched directly to Rome, with a numerous army, and laid siege to the city; while the terror of his name and his arms filled all ranks of people with dismay. The senate, in this exigence, did all that prudence could suggest, to compose the fears, and satisfy the wants of the people. They ordered, that the populace should pay no taxes to the state, during the continuance of the war; alleging, that they had already contributed their share, in rearing children for its defence. Finally,

* The concessions which Valerius made to satisfy popular prejudice, only rendered the people more turbulent, and in the event more than once endangered the republic.

they purchased corn in various parts of Campania, and had it brought to Rome, to be distributed at a low price to the people. These indulgences linked the orders of the state so firmly together, that every citizen seemed resolved to defend his country to the last, and save Rome, or be buried in its ruins. The siege, however, was carried on with vigour: a furious attack was made upon the place; the two consuls opposed in vain, and were carried off wounded from the field; while the Romans flying in great consternation, were pursued by the enemy to the bridge, over which both victors and vanquished were about to enter the city in mingled confusion. All now appeared lost, when Horatius Cocles, who had been placed there as sentinel to defend it, opposed himself to the enemy, and, assisted only by two more, for some time sustained the whole fury of the assault, till the bridge was broken down behind him: when finding the communication thus cut off, he plunged with his arms into the Tiber, swam back victorious to his fellow-soldiers, and was received with the applause which his courage and intrepidity so well deserved.

Still, however, Porsenna was determined upon taking the city; and, though five hundred of his men were slain in a sally of the Romans, he reduced it to the greatest straits, and turning the siege into a blockade, resolved to reduce it by famine. He, however, held out the palm of peace on condition that the Romans received their old master; but all with one voice exclaimed, "Rather let us perish by famine, "than again submit to slavery and oppression." Notwithstanding their fortitude, the distresses

of the besieged soon began to be insufferable, and all things seemed to menace a speedy destruction, when another act of bravery, even superior to that which had saved the city before, finally accomplished its safety and freedom.

Mutius Cordus, a youth of undaunted courage, conceived the heroic design of freeing his country from the enemy or perishing in the attempt. For this purpose, disguised in the habit of an Etrurian peasant, and armed with a poignard, he entered the camp of the Etrurians, and made up to the place where Porsenna was paying his troops, with a secretary by his side; but mistaking the latter for the king, he stabbed him to the heart, and being immediately apprehended was brought back into the royal presence. Upon Porsenna's demanding who he was, and the cause of so heinous an action, Mutius, without reserve, acknowledged his country and his design, and at the same time thrusting his right hand into a fire that burnt upon an altar before him, "You see (cried he) how little I regard "the severest punishment your cruelty can in"flict upon me. A Roman knows how to act, "and how to suffer: I am not the only person "you have to fear; three hundred of the Roman "youth, like me, have conspired your destruc"tion—therefore prepare for their attempts." Porsenna, awed by his intrepidity, and possessing too noble a mind himself not to honour bravery and virtue though found in an enemy, ordered him to be safely conducted back to Rome, and fired with an enthusiastic admiration of a country that produced such citizens, offered them conditions of peace. These were now readily accepted on their side, as being

neither hard nor disgraceful, except that twenty hostages were demanded;—ten young men, and as many virgins, of the best families in Rome. But even in this instance also, as if the softer sex were resolved to evince an equal degree of heroism with the other, Clelia, one of the hostages, escaping from her guards, and pointing out the way to the rest of her female companions, swam across the Tiber on horseback, amidst showers of darts from the enemy, and escaped unhurt. Immediately presenting herself to the consul, this magistrate, fearing the consequences of detaining her, ordered her to be sent back; upon which, Porsenna, that he might not be excelled in generosity, not only gave her her liberty, but permitted her to choose such of the hostages of the male sex, as she should think fit to attend her. On her part, she, with all the modesty of a Roman virgin, selected such as were under fourteen, alleging, that their tender age was least capable of sustaining the rigours of confinement.

Tarquin beheld with chagrin and despair the confidence that was thus forming between Porsenna and the Romans; and fearful lest his interests should be wholly sacrificed, projected the seizure of Clelia and her companions on their way back, judging that such an act of violence would rekindle the almost extinguished flames of war. From an ambuscade he attacked the escort, which, though weak and taken by surprise, defended themselves long enough to receive assistance from a detachment of the Etrurians, or rather Clusians. Porsenna himself came up, and this perfidious action estranged him for ever from the Tarquins. He retired

from the Roman territory without exacting from them any conditions: and, knowing them to be in the greatest necessity, with equal generosity and delicacy, he ordered his soldiers to leave all the provisions in the camp, and presented Cloelia with a beautiful horse superbly caparisoned. The Romans, to evince their gratitude, raised a statue to Porsenna, and sent him an ivory chair, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe. Mutius, surnamed Scævola, or the *left-handed*, from his being incapacitated from using his right, received also both useful and honourable presents from the republic. The remembrance of the generosity of Porsenna was transmitted from age to age, by the form established in the sale of public effects, which a herald pronounced by saying, "These are the effects of Porsenna."

Few remarkable transactions happened after this for about five years, if we except several victories obtained over the Sabines, who were obliged to purchase a peace. The consuls, indeed, obtained two triumphs over them, and the first ovation that had been seen in Rome, which differed from a triumph in these respects, that in an ovation, the general entered the city on foot, and not in a chariot; that he was met only by the knights and patricians, and not by the senators in their robes; that his dress was less magnificent, and that his crown, instead of being composed of laurel, was made of myrtle. Posthumius, who overcame the Sabines, was the first to whom was decreed this lesser kind of triumph, because his success had not been obtained but at the expence of a former defeat. Some other vic-

tories followed, but we shall not dwell upon these small advantages, which, though they contributed to extend the empire, would, at this distance of time, be attended neither with curiosity nor instruction.

Tarquin, though so often disappointed, was still unsubdued and unshaken; the charms of royalty still maintained unabated dominion over his heart. By means of his son-in-law, Manilius, he stirred up the Latins to espouse his interest, and took the most convenient opportunity, when the plebeians and senators were divided amongst each other, to make head against Rome. After having united twenty-four towns in his confederacy abroad, by large bribes, he also found means to win over a very powerful party of the poorer sort of Roman citizens, who indeed had many real causes of discontent to disgust them, and to which they wanted only a moderate stimulus to give vent.

The Romans, under their kings, had only two ways of subsisting—by agriculture and by plunder: in short, they lived either by labour on their own lands, or by reaping the harvests which had been sown by their enemies. Soon, however, after the expulsion of the royal family, the senators and patricians, who were in effect sovereigns of the country, appropriated to themselves the greatest part of the lands which came by right of conquest, and insensibly extended their own possessions at the expence of the public. In vain the soldier fought to enlarge the limits of the dominions of Rome; the great monopolised the fruit of his labour, though they had no participation in the danger. The poverty of the soldier, by these means, obliged him to

borrow money upon usury; and, as interest was exorbitant, it only served to increase his wretchedness. The laws also of Rome permitted the creditor to seize the person of the insolvent debtor, and to employ him as a slave, till the debt was paid: this complication of misery soon excited the murmurs of the poor, till from entreaties they proceeded to menaces. The attempt of Tarquin to regain the crown, seemed to them a favourable conjuncture to regain those rights, of which they had been insensibly deprived. When the consuls therefore began to levy men in order to oppose him, to their great amazement, all the poor, and all who were laden with debt, refused to enlist, declaring, that those who enjoyed the advantages of peace might undergo the fatigues of war; but that, for their part, they were wearied with exposing their lives for nothing; or, for what was still worse, for masters who undervalued their labours, and only rioted upon their distress. They acknowledged no city nor country, they said, which would not give them protection; and, by leaving Rome, they only left behind them their miseries, their oppressors, and their debts. They therefore insisted, that their debts should be cancelled by a decree of the senate, as the only means of inducing them to take the field.

At first, the senate endeavoured to appease the populace by gentle methods; but finding these unsuccessful, they instituted a serious enquiry into the causes of complaint, and the means by which they might best be obviated. Some urged a free remission of all debts, as the safest and securest method at that juncture. Others painted the dangerous consequences of

this condescension, advising, that only such should be enlisted as thought fit to give in their names, and that the rest should be treated with contempt. At length, they came to the resolution to put off the impending evil by delay, and to publish an order, that no debtor should be molested during the continuance of the war. The people, however, to whom the senate offered this suspension as a favour, refused it with acrimony and contempt. They knew that this was only postponing that grievance which would soon fall upon them with increased severity; they knew that the approach of the enemy had extorted from the senate what they would resume when their terrors should be over, and these considerations made them persist in their demands. The number of the malcontents increased every hour; and many of the citizens, who were neither poor nor involved in debt, entered into the views and supported the claims of the lower classes, either from a consciousness of the rectitude of their demands, or from the natural dislike which all men have to brook their superiors.

In this exigence, therefore, the senate, who saw the commonwealth upon the brink of ruin, had recourse to an expedient, which, though successful on the present emergency, in a course of ages proved fatal to the republic of Rome. The consuls, finding their authority insufficient, offered the people to elect a temporary magistrate, who should have absolute power, not only over all ranks of the state, but even over the laws themselves. The plebeians, who held the senate in abhorrence, readily consented, willing to give up their own power for the sake of abridg-

ing that of their superiors; and Titus Lartius was created the first dictator* of Rome (for so was this high officer called,) being nominated to it by his colleague in the consulship. Thus the people, who could not bear even to hear the name of king mentioned, readily submitted to a magistrate possessed of unlimited power: so much do names impose on the judgment, and so little is any form of government the object of dislike when it coincides with popular prejudices. This was the first intermission of the consular power, about ten years after it had been established.

Lartius being thus created dictator, appointed Spurius Cassius master of the horse, and entered upon his office, surrounded with his lictors, and all the ensigns of ancient royalty. Seated upon a throne in the midst of the people, he ordered the levies to be made, and his mandate was obeyed without reluctance. The populace looked with awe and reverence upon a magistrate whom they had invested with uncontrollable power, and each went peaceably to range himself under his respective standard. The Latins, being informed of this important A. C. 495.

* To be dictator, it was necessary to have been first consul, and the power of that magistrate could only last for six months; during which, however, he nominated to all public offices, assumed the command of the army, or bestowed it on the master or general of the cavalry, whom he nominated on his entrance into office. In a word, he was absolute master of the destinies of his country, nor was he responsible for any part of his conduct, after he retired from office. The only restrictions to which he was subject were, that he was not permitted to leave Italy, and that he could not mount his horse without having first obtained the consent of the people!

revolution, which strengthened the hands of government to such an amazing degree, began to lose all the expectations which they had conceived from its divisions. They accordingly thought proper to listen to an accommodation, which was proposed on the side of Rome, and a truce was agreed upon between them for a year. Lartius, who had been sent to oppose the enemy, returned with his army to Rome; and before six months were expired, the time limited for this office, he laid down the dictatorship, with the reputation of having exercised this high power with lenity and moderation.

Circumstances, however, required that the year ensuing there should be another dictator; for we find Posthumius invested with that office, and leading out the Romans to prosecute the war with the Latins, upon the expiration of the truce between them. We are told, that, coming up with them near the lake Regillus, he gave them a complete overthrow, though they were almost double his number; and that scarcely a fourth of their army escaped alive from the field.* It would be uninteresting, however, and tedious, to give the particulars of the various engagements of this warlike people in the infancy of their empire, while valour alone, rather than conduct, decided the fortune of the

* This was the last despairing effort of the Tarquins. The three sons of the expelled prince were all brave, and adopted the final resolution of recovering their father's kingdom, or expiring in the field. After performing prodigies of valour, they fell among the dead, and with them the last hopes of Tarquin sunk also to rise no more. He now retired to the court of Aristodemus, in Campania, where he died, at the very advanced age of ninety years.

day. In this battle, however, we are told, that the dictator cast one of the ensigns among the enemy, to incite his men to a bold attempt for its recovery: we are told also, that the bridles were ordered to be taken off the horses, that they might charge with greater fury. Generals who could give such directions might have been bold men, but, according to our ideas, would have proved very bad commanders. Nevertheless, they fought against an enemy more ignorant than themselves; so that the Latins, acknowledging their superiority, implored a truce once more, and the dictator, after a triumph, laid down his authority, as in the former case.

The soldiers, having returned from the field in triumph, had some reason to expect a remission of their debts, and to enjoy that safety for themselves which they had procured for the public. Contrary to their hopes, however, the courts of justice were opened against them, and the prosecution of creditors revived with more than usual severity. This soon excited fresh murmurs; and the senate, who were not insensible that they were deserved, in order to be prepared, chose Appius Claudius, a man of austere manners, a strict observer of the laws, and of unshaken intrepidity, for one of the consuls the year ensuing; but, at the same time, to temper his severity, they gave him for a colleague Servilius, a man of a humane and gentle disposition, and as much beloved by the populace as Appius was the object of their aversion. When the complaints of the people therefore came to be deliberated upon, these two magistrates, as it may be supposed, were entirely of opposite opinions. Servilius, commiserating the distresses

of the poor, was for abolishing all debts, or at least for diminishing the interest upon them. Appius, on the other hand, with his natural severity, insisted that the laws of his country should be inviolably observed, and that lightening the loan from those who owed money was but throwing it upon those to whom it was due. That it would be encouraging the extravagant and the idle, at the expence of the industrious and the frugal; and that every new compliance from the senate, as had been evidenced before, would but increase the insolent demands of the people.

The citizens, being apprised of the discordant sentiments of their consuls, in regard to their complaints, loaded Servilius with every mark of gratitude, while they every-where pursued Appius with threats and imprecations. They began to assemble afresh, to hold secret cabals by night, and to meditate some new revolution, when an unlooked-for spectacle of distress roused all their passions, and at once fanned their kindled resentment into flame.

A Roman soldier, decrepit and aged, laden with chains, yet shewing in his air the marks of better days, sought an asylum in the midst of the people, as they were assembled on a public occasion. He was covered with rags; his face was pale, and wasted with famine; his beard, which was long and neglected, and his hair in wild disorder, rendered his appearance still more ghastly though interesting. He was known, however, to be a gallant man, who had often been valiant in the field; he shewed the scars which he had received in battle, and the marks of recent stripes, which still continued bleeding. The

compassion of the multitude was warmly excited at this sad spectacle, but much more when he told them his story. Having borne arms in the last war against the Sabines, his little patrimony was not only neglected, but the enemy had plundered his substance, and set his house on fire. In this situation he was forced for subsistence to contract debts, and then obliged to sell his inheritance to discharge them; but a part still remaining unpaid, his unfeeling creditor had dragged him to prison, where he was not only laden with chains, but torn with the whips of the executioner, who was ordered to torment him. This account, and his wounds, which were still fresh, produced an instantaneous uproar among the people; they flew to take revenge not only on the delinquent, but on the general body of their oppressors. Appius had the good fortune to find safety by flight. Servilius, laying aside the marks of consular power, threw himself into the midst of the tumult, entreated, flattered, commanded them to patience; engaged to have their wrongs redressed by the senate; promised that he himself would zealously support their cause: and in the mean time, to convince them of the sincerity of his intentions, made proclamation, that no citizen should be arrested for debt until the senate should issue further directions.

The influence of Servilius, for this time served, in some measure, to appease the murmurs of the people; and the senate was going to begin their deliberations, when word was brought that an army of Volscians was marching directly towards Rome. This was an event which the populace had wished with the most

ardent expectation; and they now resolved to let the nobles see, how little the power of the rich avails when unsupported by the strength of the multitude. Accordingly, when the levy came to be made, they unanimously refused to enlist; while those who had been imprisoned for debt, shewing their chains, asked, with an insulting smile, "whether these were the weapons with which they were to face the enemy."

Rome, in this state of anarchy within, and of threatened invasion from without, was upon the brink of ruin, when Servilius, who, in the capacity of consul, was to command the army, once more renewed his entreaties with the people, not to desert him in this exigence. To soothe them still more, he issued a new edict, that no citizen should be imprisoned during the continuance of the war; and assured them, that, upon their return, they should have plenary redress of their grievances. By these conciliatory measures, as well as by the affection which the people had to his person, he once more prevailed. The citizens came in crowds to enrol themselves under his command; he led them to meet the enemy, and gained a complete victory. But of all those who shewed their courage in the engagement, the debtors and former malcontents were the most conspicuous. Servilius, to recompense their bravery, gave them the plunder of the enemy's camp, without reserving, as was usual, any part of it for the treasury; and this act of just munificence offending the avaricious and still head-strong senate, induced them, upon his return, to refuse him the honours of a triumph, which the people, however, in defiance of opposition, decreed him.

The terrors of the enemy being thus removed, the former cruelties were renewed. Appius, still fierce and uncomplying, again authorised the creditors to renew their severity, and the debtors were dragged to prison, and insulted as before. In vain did they implore the assistance of Servilius, who, mild and flexible, resigned too much of his power to Appius. In vain did they claim the promises made them by the senate; for that body, deaf to their cries, saw debtors pursued, even into the forum, by their merciless creditors, and prevented only by the multitude from being dragged to prison. The approach of an enemy, still more numerous than that which had been lately conquered, retarded the acrimony of their vengeance. The Sabines, the Æqui, and the Volscians, as if willing to second the views of the people, again made a fierce irruption, while the citizens absolutely refused to enlist, till their grievances were completely removed.

The commonwealth being in this dangerous situation, the senate was obliged to have recourse to the usual method of redress, by creating a dictator. Appius, who advised the measure, hoped that he should have been chosen; but the senate, sensible of his unpopularity and violence, chose Manlius Valerius, an ancient senator, a man of a mild and merciful character, much loved by the people, and descended from the great deliverer whose name he bore. Valerius, who secretly inclined to the plebeian party, chose Quintus, the brother of their great idol Servilius, for his master of the horse; and, assembling the others, assured them, that if they would follow him freely, their grievances should

not only be redressed, but their fortunes advanced by the spoils of the enemy. He, in the mean time, freed them from any immediate prosecutions from their creditors, and commanded them to follow him to the field. There was something so absolute in the office of a Dictator, and it was so much revered by the people, that they not only dreaded its resentment, but seemed to think its promises binding. They therefore enrolled themselves at his order, and, marching against the enemy, quickly reduced them to subjection; such lands as had been taken from them being divided among the soldiers, according to compact.

Upon his return, the Dictator requested the senate to perform what he had so solemnly pledged his word to obtain: but Appius, still obstinate, refused to comply, reproaching him with a mean condescension to the multitude, and bringing over the majority of the senate to his opinion. Valerius, therefore, finding he was unable to contend with so powerful a body, laid down his office, alleging, that it was time for an old man of seventy to consult his ease rather than to form an unavailing opposition.

By these reiterated breaches of faith the people were inflamed to a dangerous degree; they entered into private consultations, and formed a plan of separating themselves from masters, whose promises were as contemptible as their tyranny was dreadful. The most violent measures are to the multitude always the most pleasing; and some had even the boldness to talk of taking off such as were obnoxious. The senate and the consuls, well knowing the effects of their fury when they should be disbanded, re-

sbived still to keep them in the field, under pretence that the enemy was yet unsubdued, and preparing for new invasions. In this exigence, the soldiers were at a loss how to act; the military oath, which they had taken upon enlisting, forbade their laying down their arms, or forsaking their standards; and yet their recent injuries restrained them from taking the field. Steering however between both extremes, they resolved to quit a city which gave them no protection, and to form a new establishment without its limits. They, therefore, removed their ensigns, changed their commander, and, under the conduct of a plebeian, named Sicinius Bellutus, retired to a mountain, from thence called the Mons Sacer, on the banks of the river Anio, about three miles from Rome.

The news of this defection filled the city with tumult and consternation; those who wished well to the people made all the attempts they could to scale the walls, in order to join it, for the gates were shut by the senate's direction. The fathers, who had sons among the mutineers, reproached their degeneracy; wives lamented the absence of their husbands; and all apprehended a civil war. The senate was not less agitated than the rest; some were for violent measures, and repelling force by force, at the head of whom was Appius; others were of opinion, that gentler arts were to be used, and that even a victory over such enemies would be worse than a defeat. At length, the milder alternative prevailing, it was resolved to send a messenger entreating the people to return home, and declare their grievances, promising, at the same time, an oblivion of all that had passed. This mea-

sage was treated by the army with disdain; so that the senate were now to begin afresh to consider of the proper steps to be taken, and, in this dilemma, what would be the least evil of the two to adopt.

Accordingly, after choosing new consuls, which was not done without difficulty, they entered upon the deliberation with an earnestness equal to the importance of the cause. Menenius Agrippa, one of the wisest and best of the senators, was of opinion, that the people were to be indulged in their reasonable wishes; because the Roman dominions could neither be extended nor preserved without their active assistance. The late dictator Valerius seconded his opinion, with a warmth unusual to one of his gentle temper and advanced age. He upbraided the senate with their duplicity, and urged the necessity of the people's sharing those advantages which the rich were determined to engross. Appius, on the other hand, still adhering to his despotic principles, declaimed with great violence against making the smallest concessions to the multitude. He observed, that if they granted to the people, when enemies, what they had refused them when friends, it would be an argument of their fears, and not their justice; that the young patricians and their clients were still able to defend the city, even though its ungrateful inhabitants should desert it; that the multitude never knows where to stop in its demands, and that every concession would be productive of fresh claims and louder importunities. The body of the senators, to whom chiefly the people were debtors, only wanted the speciousness of such arguments to cover their avarice; those of the

younger sort also, who were flattered by the orator, applauded his speech with indecent zeal. The consuls therefore, who, notwithstanding this courage in debate, saw the necessity there was for complying with the people, in order to prevent such violent measures as the senate were hastening into, for that day, broke up the assembly; at the same time intimating to the younger part of the senators, that, if they did not behave with more moderation for the future, a law should be preferred, preventing all under a certain age from being admitted into that illustrious body.

This threat had its effect at their next meeting, where, notwithstanding the stubborn opposition of Appius, and the terrible blow that was about to be given to the fortunes of many of the members, it was resolved to enter into a treaty with the people, and to make them such offers as should induce them to return to their allegiance and their homes. Ten commissioners were accordingly deputed, at the head of whom were Lartius and Valerius, who had been dictators; and Menenius Agrippa, equally loved by the senate and the people. The dignity and the popularity of these ambassadors procured them a very respectable reception among the soldiers, and a long conference commenced between them. Lartius and Valerius employed all their oratory on the one hand; while Sicinius and Lucius Junius, who were the spokesmen of the soldiery, aggravated their distresses with all that masculine eloquence which natural ability and the sense of injury inspire. The conference continued for a long time, when Menenius Agrippa, who had been originally a plebeian, a shrewd,

facetious man, and who consequently knew what kind of eloquence was most likely to influence the people, addressed to them that celebrated fable, which is so finely related by Livy. "In times of old," said he, "when every part of the body could think for itself, and each had a separate will of its own, they all, with common consent, resolved to revolt against the belly: they knew no reason, they said, why they should toil from morning till night in its service, while the belly, in the mean time, lay at its ease in the midst of them all, and indolently grew fat upon their labours: accordingly, they agreed to support it no more. The feet vowed they would carry it no longer: and the teeth averred they would not chew a morsel of meat, though it were placed between them. Thus resolved, they for some time shewed their spirit, and kept their resolution; but soon they found, that, instead of mortifying the belly by these means, they only undid themselves; they languished for a while, and perceived, when too late, that it was owing to the belly that they had strength to work, or courage to mutiny."

This fable, the application of which is obvious, had an instantaneous effect upon the people. They unanimously cried out that Agrippa should lead them back to Rome; and were making preparations to follow him, when Lucius Junius, before mentioned, checked their ardour by his prudent caution; alleging, that, though they were grateful for the kind offers of the senate, yet they had no safeguard against their future resentment; and that it was necessary, for the security of the people, to have certain officers created annually from among themselves,

who should have power to plead the cause of the community, and to redress the injured.

The people, who are ever biassed by the opinion of the last speaker, highly applauded this proposal, which however the commissioners had not authority to comply with; they, therefore, sent to Rome to receive the instructions of the senate, who, distracted with intestine divisions, and harassed by complaints from without, were resolved to have peace, at whatsoever price it should be obtained. Accordingly, as if with one voice, they consented to the creation of a new description of officers, who were called *Tribunes of the People*,* Appius alone protesting with vehemence against the adoption of this measure, as he had from the commencement of this civil contest.

The tribunes of the people were at first five in number, though afterwards their body was increased by the addition of five more. They were always annually elected by the people, and generally from their body. They had the power of annulling all such decrees of the senate as they considered inimical to the people; and to shew their readiness to protect the meanest, and to receive complaints as they occurred, their doors stood open night and day. They at first had their seats placed before the doors of the

* The terms of peace which were now ratified were these: "That the tribunes of the people should be exempt from all servile offices to which citizens were otherwise liable. That no one should strike him, or cause him to be struck by another. If any one infringed this law, he should be declared accursed, his property confiscated to the service of the goddess Ceres; and if any one killed a tribune, any person should have a right to take off the murderer."

senate-house; and being called in, they proceeded to examine every decree, annulling it by the word *veto*, *I forbid it*; or confirming it by signing the letter *T*, which gave it validity. Their persons were to be sacred; and, though they were not distinguished by any of the ensigns of office, such as the curule chair, or the lictors who attended upon other magistrates, yet their power was greatly superior, having a negative vote upon all decrees of the senate. They were, however, to have no authority without the walls of the city; and it was unlawful for them to be absent from it a day: but what still more diminished their power was, that any one of their number could put a negative upon the measures of the rest; and this was afterwards found the most artful method of opposing them; for one gained over to the senate, rendered the attempts of the rest abortive. In short, they proved the bane of the public peace, and often occasioned greater disorders than they were elected to suppress.

This new office being thus instituted, Sicinius Bellutus, Lucius Junius, Caius Licinius, Albinus, and Icilius Ruga, were the first tribunes chosen by the suffrages of the people. The senate also made an edict confirming the abolition of debts: and now all things being adjusted on both sides, the people, after having sacrificed to the Gods of the sacred mountain, returned in triumph to Rome. A. C. 490. U. C. 258.

## CHAP. IV.

*From the Creation of the Tribunes to the Commencement of the Decemviral Office.*

HITHERTO we have seen the people struggling against the exorbitant power of the senate; but now commences a period in which the senate had to contend against the increasing power of the people; a period in which the latter, beginning to feel their own force, and being put into motion, like an increasing torrent, bear down all before them with irresistible violence. The first advantage the tribunes obtained, was a permission to choose from among the people two annual officers, as assistants in the fatigues of their duty. These were called Ædiles, as a part of their business consisted in taking care of the public buildings, aqueducts, and sewers; and likewise in determining some causes, that had hitherto been subject to the cognizance of the consuls only. They were to notice those who held more land than the laws allowed them; to curb all public immoralities, and abolish nuisances; to provide corn and oil in times of famine, and to prevent any monopolies which the avaricious might be tempted to make to the public detriment. The people, having obtained these vast privileges, and all their clamours being hushed, now marched against the Volsci and Antiates; took Corioli, one of their chief towns; and soon after overthrew the enemy with great

slaughter. In this battle Marcius, afterwards surnamed Coriolanus, particularly distinguished himself. This man, was of a patrician family, and, proud of rank and success, beheld with indignation the encroachments of the tribunes; and an opportunity was soon offered of avowing his principles.

The people, being rendered more turbulent by the condescension of the senate, and by a triumph over the enemy, soon after found another occasion to shew their aptitude to clamour. During the late secession, tillage had been entirely neglected, and a famine was the consequence, the ensuing season. The senate did all that lay in their power to remedy the evil; but the people, pinched with want, and willing to throw the blame on any but themselves, ascribed the whole of their distress to the avarice of the patricians; who, having purchased all the corn, as was alleged, intended to indemnify themselves for the abolition of debts, by selling it at an enhanced price. But this was not all that was laid to their charge. The senate, in order to lessen the number of citizens in this time of famine, had sent many of them to Velitræ, a city of the Volscians, which had lately been much depopulated by a plague. This excited an universal clamour among the people, which the tribunes took care to aggravate. Accordingly they urged that this was only an artful method of removing such citizens as were obnoxious to the nobles; that it was little else than banishing the bravest men of the state without an offence; and thus, by weakening the strength of the people, to increase their own. These reports being industriously propagated,

an assembly was called, in which the consuls and the tribunes by turns harangued the people. A contest managed with so much impetuosity on both sides, every moment grew warmer: the consuls insisted, that the tribunes had no right to address the assembly; the tribunes, on the other hand, asserted that their office was sacred, and that they ought not to be impeded in their duty. In this the people unanimously concurred; for whatever their leaders thought fit to propose, they were ready to ratify; a law, therefore, was made, that no man should dare to interrupt the tribunes while they spoke to the people; a law, which greatly increased their power, as now, from taking the assembly's instructions, they were authorised to direct them.

The city, after this, enjoyed a transient calm: some of the people retired to their houses to support famine with patience and resignation; while others made incursions upon the enemy, and returned with the spoil. But abundance, soon after renewed in them that turbulence which the continuance of the famine had repressed, but not removed. A large fleet of ships laden with corn from Sicily, a great part of which was a present from Gelon, the king of that island, to the Romans, and the rest purchased by the senate with the public money, raised their spirits once more, and inflamed their eagerness for dissension. When it came to be debated in the senate, in what manner this large supply should be distributed, violent divisions arose. Some were for supplying the poorer sort with a sufficient quantity gratis; others were for selling it at a low price, and thus to reimburse the treasury; but when it came to the

turn of Coriolanus to speak, he insisted, that no part of it should be distributed, until the late infringements which the people had made upon the rights of the senate should be rectified, and the commonwealth was restored to its former constitution. "Why (exclaimed he) do we sub- "mit to see the state divided between two pow- "ers, whose dissensions only serve to harass it "the more? Can we tamely bear to see "tribunes give laws in Rome, and rule with "uncontrolled power, when we could not stoop "to kings? If the factious and turbulent are "unwilling to live at Rome, let them retire "once more to the sacred mountain; it is bet- "ter not to govern, if we must share our com- "mand with the dregs of the people." A speech so inflammatory, and so violent, rekindled all the flames of dissension. The multitude, in the fury of their resentment, would have fallen upon the whole body of the senate; but the tribunes restrained their rage, and directed it to Coriolanus, whom they condemned to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock, the usual punishment of traitors. Nevertheless he remained unshaken; nature had made him intrepid, frugal, and inflexible; and to these dispositions he added the acquired virtues of great respect for the laws, great knowledge of war, and an enthusiastic attachment to his party. Having treated the summons of the tribunes to appear before them with contempt, they sent their ædiles to apprehend and bring him before the people; but a party of the young patricians gathering round their favourite, repulsed the ædiles, and, after beating, drove them away. This was a signal for universal uproar; the tumult raged from

every quarter, and a civil war threatened to ensue, had not the consuls promised the people the most ample redress. The tribunes insisted that Coriolanus should suffer condign punishment, as a rebel and a contemner of the sacred authority of the Roman people: they were even going to seize his person, but the patricians again rescued him.

A conduct so resolute on one side, and so assuming on the other, in some measure kept the populace in suspense; they felt a reluctance to assist the tribunes against those who had been their generals and their captains, and gazed upon the contest with trembling irresolution. Their backwardness, therefore, to lend assistance, began to excite suspicions in the tribunes, that they had proceeded with too much violence; and, in consequence, they demanded to bring the accused to trial before the assembly of the people, and that his case should be argued before that authority, from which there lay no appeal. The patricians, who, though conscious of the innocence of Coriolanus, were yet willing to give peace to the city, consented; and a day was appointed for making his defence. Coriolanus demanded of the tribunes, what they intended to charge him with; to which they replied, that they intended to accuse him of aiming at sovereignty and tyranny; whereupon he cheerfully put himself upon his trial, conscious of his innocence in those respects.

When the appointed day was come, all persons were filled with the greatest expectations, and a vast concourse from the adjacent country assembled and filled the forum. The tribunes, in the mean time, divided the people by tribes,

separating them from each other, and ordering that they should give their votes separately, and not by centuries, as since the time of Hostilius had always been the custom. This, as has been previously remarked, was depriving the patricians of all their influence, since the numbers of the populace were sure to prevail: however, the senate, unwilling to identify the cause of Coriolanus, with their own, at last consented to this stretch of power in the plebeians; but, to make a show of defending him to the last, the consul Minutius mounted the rostrum in his favour, insisting upon the services he had done the state; how little a few words, escaping in the heat of passion, ought to be attended to; and concluded by signifying that the whole senate were petitioners in his cause, and desired the tribunes, that they would closely adhere to their promised impeachment; namely, his aiming at sovereign power. To this Sicinius the tribune replied, that he would urge against the guilty, all things, of every kind or description, that should tend to prove him guilty; that the state had too much to fear from his influence, and his number of clients, not to use every means of bringing him to justice; that he owed much more to the safety of the republic, than to any vain complaisance to the senate; and that the very attempt to depress the power of the people, who had every right to govern themselves, was a crime. Coriolanus, upon this, presented himself before the people, with a degree of intrepidity that merited the highest admiration. His graceful person, his manly eloquence, joined to the cries of those whom he had saved from the enemy, inclined the auditors to relent. He

began by recounting all the battles he had fought, and the different posts he had sustained; he shewed the various crowns which had been given him by his generals, as rewards of his merit; and exposed to view the numberless wounds he had received in acquiring them; he related all the breaches he had entered, and all the lives he had saved, calling out to such as were present, to bear witness to the truth of his recital. "Speak (said he,) you whom I have "served in trouble! And do you come forward "whom I have rescued from the fetters of an "enemy, and presented with liberty and life." These, with the most moving protestations, entreated their friends to spare that life by which they lived; and, if there were to be an offering for public resentment, they themselves were ready to die for him.

A defence like this, supported with all that boldness which conscious innocence inspires, moved every hearer with a wish to pardon; many cried out, that so brave a man deserved a triumph, not death; and that his very trial was a national disgrace. The giddy though honest multitude were going therefore to absolve him; when Decius, one of the tribunes, a man of fluent eloquence, rose up to reply. "In what-"ever manner (cried he) we may be prevented "by the senate from urging those speeches which "were made amongst that august body, tending "to destroy the privileges of the people, yet still "we are not unprovided: we decline aggra-"vating what Coriolanus has said; we have "facts, which we call upon the accused to clear "himself of. We have an ancient law amongst "us, that all plunder, taken from the enemy,

"shall be appropriated to the use of the public, "and be delivered into the treasury, untouched "by the general. But a law so equitable in "itself, and so inviolably observed by our an- "cestors, has been infringed by this man, who "stands accused before you. In a late incur- "sion into the territories of Antium, though his "plunder, in slaves, cattle, and provisions, was "very great, yet the public were neither the "better nor the richer for it: it was divided "among his friends and followers; men whom, "probably, he only intended to enrich, to be "the better able to secure our ruin. It has "ever been the practice of tyrants to begin "the work of ambition, by forming a numerous "body of partisans, who are willing to lose "public regard in private emolument. Here, "then, we ground our charge; let him, if he "can, deny the fact; and let him bring proofs, "not by vainly shewing his scars, but by con- "vincing us of his innocence." This charge was entirely unexpected: Coriolanus had, in fact, when the people refused to enlist, issued out at the head of his clients, and plundered the enemy, who had made incursions up to the very walls of Rome. These spoils, which were so justly earned, he never thought of bringing into the treasury, as they were the acquisition of a private adventure, and had been distributed wholly among his followers. Being unable, however, to answer what was alleged against him to the satisfaction of the people, and utter- ly confounded with the charge, the tribunes im- mediately took the votes, lest he should recover from his surprise, or the people shake off the impression they had just received to his prejudice,

and Coriolanus was condemned to perpetual exile.

Never did the fickle populace testify a sincerer joy, even in triumphing over a vanquished enemy, than they did upon this occasion, having in a manner totally annihilated the power of the senate; since henceforward they assumed a right of summoning any of the individuals of that body before them, whom they thought proper to accuse. The senate, on the other hand, saw themselves reduced to an abject dependence upon the multitude; deprived of all security to their persons, and all their former rights of being judged by their compeers. This sentence against their bravest defender struck their whole body with sorrow, consternation, and dismay. Coriolanus alone, in the midst of the tumult, seemed an unconcerned spectator. He returned home, followed by the lamentations of hundreds of the most respectable senators and citizens of Rome, to take a lasting leave of his wife, his children, and his mother Veturia. While they, in the first transports of sorrow, hung round him in agony at parting, he, with a manly fortitude, tore himself from their embraces; exhorting them to bear their fate with fortitude, and to think of him no more. Then recommending his children to their care, and all to the protection of Heaven, he left the city, attended by the senate to the very gates, to take refuge among the enemies of Rome. In this manner the plebeians, who had obtained tribunes merely for their own defence, employed those very magistrates to annoy others; and, by insensible degrees, stripped the patricians of all their former privileges. So common it is for slaves to be-

some tyrants, and the persecuted to be scourges in their turn.

Coriolanus, an outcast from his country, sought less for a safe retreat than for an opportunity of vengeance. All his fortitude, and the early institutions of his mother, were not able to repress the resentment of his wrongs, or his desire of punishing his enemies, even though it involved his country in ruin. Tullus Attius, a man of great power among the Volsci, and a violent enemy to the Romans, seemed to him a fit instrument to assist his revenge. Resolving to apply to him, he enters Antium, the city where Tullus commanded, by night; and, going directly to his house, seated himself near the hearth, by the household gods; a place which, by the religion of the country, was held sacred. Tullus being informed that a stranger, with an air of dignity far beyond what was common, had taken refuge in his house, came and demanded his name and business. "My name "(cried the Roman) is Caius Marcius: my sur-"name is Coriolanus; the only reward that re-"mains of all my services. I am banished "Rome for being a friend to it; I am come to "take refuge here, where I have ever been an "enemy. If you are willing to make use of "my services, you shall find me grateful: if "you are willing to revenge the injuries I have "done you, behold me prepared."

Tullus, struck with the dignity and known courage of Coriolanus, stretched out his hand in token of amity, and instantly espoused his cause. The first thing therefore to be done was to induce the Volsci to break the league which had been made with Rome; in order to ef-

fect this, and yet preserve the semblance of justice, Tullus sent many of his citizens to Rome, to attend some games at that time celebrating; but in the mean time gave the senate private information, that the strangers had conceived the dangerous design of burning the city. This stratagem had the desired effect; and the senate issued an order, that all strangers should depart from Rome before sun-set. Tullus, on the other hand, represented this order to his countrymen, as an infraction of the treaty, and procured an embassy to be sent to Rome, complaining of the breach of hospitality; and re-demanding all the territories belonging to the Volscians, of which they had been violently dispossessed; declaring war in case of a refusal. This message was treated by the senate with contempt; they bade the ambassadors inform their countrymen, that menaces could not intimidate the Romans, who would keep with their swords those possessions which their valour had won: and should the Volscians be the first to take up arms, the Romans would be the last to lay them down.

War being thus declared on both sides, Coriolanus and Tullus were appointed generals of the Volscians, and accordingly invaded the Roman territories, ravaging and laying waste all such lands as belonged to the plebeians, but suffering those of the senators to remain untouched. In the mean time, the levies went on but slowly at Rome: the two consuls, who were re-elected by the people, seemed but little skilled in war, and even feared to encounter a general whom they knew to be their superior in the field. The allies also evinced their fears, and slowly brought in their succours; so that Coriolanus continued

to take their towns one after the other. Circum, a Roman colony, first submitted to his arms; he then attacked the Latins, who vainly implored assistance from Rome. The towns of Tolerium, Lavici, Pes, and Bola, were all taken by storm; their goods plundered, and the inhabitants made prisoners of war: such as yielded were treated mildly; such as resisted were put to the sword. Fortune favoured him in every expedition; and he was now so famous for his victories, that the Volsci left their towns defenceless to follow him into the field; being assured, under his conduct, of success. The very soldiers of his colleague's army came over to him, and would acknowledge no other general. Thus finding himself unopposed in the field, and at the head of a numerous army, he at length pitched his camp almost under the very walls of Rome.

The city which had lately been so turbulent and haughty, exhibited nothing but timidity and despair. The people, who from the walls beheld the enemy ravaging their fields, begged peace with tears and supplications. They began to entreat the senate to recal the edict which had banished Coriolanus, and acknowledged the injustice of their former proceedings. The senate despised such meanness, resolving, if possible, not to betray the injustice of the state to foreign enemies, or to grant those favours to an actual traitor, which they had denied him when only accused of treasonable designs. Yet what could their resolutions avail, when they had not power to support them? Coriolanus approached nearer every day, and at last invested the city, fully resolved to besiege it. It was then that the fierce spirit of the pa-

tricians was entirely subdued: both the senate and the people unanimously agreed to send deputies to him with proposals of restoration, in case he should draw off his army. Coriolanus received them with haughtiness, obliged them to pass through a line of armed men, and to submit to whatever was most mortifying to Romans. He informed them, with the utmost severity, that he was now general of the Volscians, and had only their interest to consider: that, if they hoped for peace, they must restore all the towns which originally belonged to that people, and make them free of the city, as the Latins were: "And as for myself (said he,) do you imagine that a mere recal will be "a sufficient atonement for the insults I have re- "ceived, while it still remains in the power of "such wretches as Sicinius and Decius to arm a "vile populace against me? No! Rome, like a "cruel step-mother, has heaped injuries and in- "dignities upon a son who had no other am- "bition but to sacrifice himself for her glory. "She will now learn by the sequel, whether the "gods espouse her cause or mine—Depart. I "allow you thirty days, at the expiration of "which period you shall see me once more before "these walls, to receive your determination." The intermediate space he employed in taking several more towns from the Latins; and according to his promise returned, and again encamped his army before the walls of Rome.

Another embassy was now sent forth, conjuring him not to exact from his native city aught but what became Romans to grant. Coriolanus, however, naturally inflexible and severe, and irritated into revenge, still persisted in his former demands, and granted them but three

days' longer grace, in which to finish their deliberations. A message so peremptory filled the whole city with consternation. Every one ran to take arms; some posted themselves upon the ramparts; others watched the gates, lest they should be secretly delivered up by the partisans which Coriolanus had within; others fortified their houses, as if the enemy were already masters of the walls. In this general confusion, there was neither discipline nor command. The consuls, whose fears were their only advisers, had been elected for very different merits than those of skill in war. The tribunes, lately so fierce, were now struck dumb; all shared the universal terror; and it seemed as if the boasted courage of Rome had migrated, with their general, into the camp of the Volscians. In this exigence, all that was left was another deputation, still more solemn than either of the former, composed of the pontiffs, the priests, and the augurs. These, clothed in their habits of ceremony, and with a grave and mournful deportment, issued from the city, and entered the camp of the conqueror: they besought him by all that was sacred, by the respect he owed the gods, and that which he might have for those who, being servants of the gods, were now at his feet, to give peace to his country. These appeals were made wholly in vain. Coriolanus testified that respect for the deputation which the sanctity of their characters demanded; but sent them away without in the least relaxing in his demands.

When the people saw them return without making the least impression on his heart, they began to give up the commonwealth as lost.

Their temples were filled with old men, with women and children, who, prostrate at their altars, put up their ardent prayers for the preservation of their country. Nothing was to be heard but anguish and lamentation; nothing to be seen but scenes of affright and distress. At length, it was suggested to them, that what could not be effected by the intercession of the senate, or the abjuration of the priests, might be brought about by the tears of his wife, or the importunities of his mother. This idea seemed to be relished by all, and even the senate gave the proposed deputation the sanction of their authority. Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, at first made some hesitation to undertake so pious a work, knowing the inflexible temper of her son, and fearful of finding him deaf to her maternal entreaties: however, she at last undertook the embassy, and set forward from the city, accompanied by many of the principal matrons of Rome, with Volumnia his wife, and his two children. Coriolanus, who at a distance discovered this mournful groupe of female suppliants, was resolved to give them a denial, and called his officers round him, to be witnesses of his resolution: but, being informed that his mother and his wife were among the number, he instantly came down from his tribunal, to meet and embrace them. At first the women's tears and embraces took away the power of words, and the rough soldier could not refrain from giving way to the feelings of nature likewise, and sharing in the general distress.

"Tell me, Coriolanus, (cried his mother,) "how am I to consider this meeting? Do I em- "brace my son, or my enemy? Am I your mo-

"ther, or your captive? How have I lived to "see this day—to see my son a banished man, "and, still more distressing, to see him the ene- "my of his country? How has he been able to "turn his arms against the place which gave "him life? how direct his rage against those "walls which protect his wife, his children, and "his gods? But it is to me only, that my coun- "try owes her oppressor; had I never been a "mother, Rome had still been free; the wretch- "ed consciousness of this will afflict me as long "as life shall last, and that cannot last long. "But, though I am prepared for death, yet, at "least, let these wretched sufferers claim some "share of your compassion; and think what "will be their fate, when to banishment they "must add captivity."

Coriolanus, during this speech, seemed much agitated by contending passions: his mother, who saw him moved, seconded her words by the most persuasive eloquence of tears: his wife and children hung round him, entreating for protection and pity; while the train of matrons lifted up their lamentations, and deplored their own and their country's distress, prostrate on the ground, in all the agony of woe. Coriolanus, for a moment, was silent, feeling the strong conflict between honour and inclination; at length, starting as from a dream, his breast struggling with a thousand various emotions, he flew to raise his mother, who had fallen at his feet, and exclaimed, "O my mother, thou hast "saved Rome, but lost thy son!" He accordingly gave orders to draw off the army, and thus saved the city from destruction. His words, however, were prophetic; the lenity he had

shewn to his country was not to be forgiven. Tullus, who had long envied his glory, was not remiss in aggravating the treachery of his conduct to his countrymen. Upon their return, Coriolanus was slain in an insurrection of the people, by some hired assassins, and afterwards honourably buried, with late and ineffectual repentance. The Roman ladies wore mourning for him a year; and though he died in disgrace, his country always ranked him among her heroes. He was equally brave and prudent, disinterested and virtuous; but trusting to force rather than persuasion, he neglected those arts that conciliate popular affection. No Roman general ever preceded or followed him, who was better qualified to extend the limits of the republic, had his lot been cast in more propitious times; but the violence of his resentment against his native country, though it may be palliated, cannot be excused.

Great and many were the public rejoicings at Rome upon the retreat of the Volscian army. The senate decreed the women what honours they should demand; but they only asked to have a temple dedicated to Female Fortune, built in the place where they had delivered their country; which was accordingly erected at the public expence. In the mean time, that courage which had been for a time overpowered, began again to shew itself in the field. Coriolanus being no more, they ventured to face their Volscian enemies, who indeed contributed by their own contentions, together with that of their allies, to render any foreign force unnecessary to their overthrow. A signal victory was obtained over them and the Hernici the

year ensuing. Among others, Tullus their general was slain.

Spurius Cassius Viscellinus had the principal honour in obtaining this victory. He was a man naturally vain, and filled with ostentation: ambitious to an extreme, and as ready to overrate his own services, as to depreciate those of others. He had been three times consul, and had been decreed two triumphs by the senate: these honours and advantages, aided by some popularity, flattered his pride to such a degree, that he aspired to the regal power at Rome. In order to prepare for this, being empowered by the senate to impose on the conquered nations what conditions of peace he should think proper, he resolved to attach them to his interests by the most indecent concessions. Accordingly he restored a third part of what he had conquered; granted them the title of citizens of Rome; and treated the vanquished, in all respects, as he would have done a victorious army. Still further to conciliate friends in every part of the state, he gave the Latins one moiety of the conquered lands remaining, and reserved the other part for the poor citizens of Rome. And not content even with this, he resolved to increase his popularity, by distributing among the poor some lands, which had long been in the possession of the rich, and which he asserted to be the property of the public. Accordingly, on the day succeeding that of his triumph, on rendering an account, according to custom, of what he had done, he expatiated upon his extraordinary care and wise management of the commonwealth; on his having augmented the number of the subjects and citizens of Rome, and on his

own peculiar endowments for guiding the state: he went on to observe, that, however extensive the conquests of Rome might be, it signified but little, if the rich only enjoyed the advantages of them; if, while the senate and patricians lived in affluence, the veteran soldier pined in want and obscurity. He therefore was of opinion, that an exact estimate should be made of all the lands taken from the enemy, which were now in possession of the rich, and that they should be equally divided among the lower citizens.*

Thus from the vanity and ambition of Cassius sprang the famous Agrarian law, which afterwards caused such disturbances, and proved the source of perpetual discord between the poor and the rich. Nothing could exceed the indignation of the senate upon hearing this proposition; as they had before been almost stripped of their public rights, they saw this attacked them in their private possessions. All that fortune which their ancestors or themselves had acquired by valour or industry, was now destined to be plundered from them, in order to be distributed among the indolent, the extravagant, and the base. One deliberation succeeded upon another to concert measures how to frustrate the effects of this law, and to check the ambition of the consul. The people were not less mutinous on

* From the history of every republic it appears, that the factious and ambitious pursue any means, however nefarious or unjust, first to gain popularity and then to carry their own particular purpose. It appears also that a popular form of government is always framed in commotions, and derives new strength from fresh convulsions; consequently, such a state must be the pest of gentle and honest minds, as it is the soil for the violent and unprincipled to flourish in.

their part; the tribunes, and those whose fortunes were above the lowest rank, were unwilling to be reduced to a level with the meanest vassals of their power; the clients of the rich were attached to the interest of their patrons; but, notwithstanding this, the majority of the multitude, with Cassius at their head, strenuously clamoured for the Agrarian law, and threatened destruction to the empire, in case of a refusal. Even several of the Hernici and Volsci were called in on this occasion to increase the tumult, or to protect the ambitious demagogue in case of failure. At last the senate perceived the necessity of complying, and therefore gave the populace a promise, that the lands should be divided among them, according to their desire; but decreed, that the allies and associates, who had no part in acquiring those lands, should have no share in the division. This promise at present appeased the people, and gave the senate an opportunity of concerting measures for punishing the original proposer. Accordingly, some time after, the questors, by their order, appointed a day for Cassius to answer to the charge of his designing to subvert the state, and to raise himself to sovereign power, before the assembly of the people. A blow so unexpected alarmed this factious leader with the most just apprehensions, particularly as he had the tribunes, as well as the patricians, in opposition to his views. He appeared, however, before the assembly, habited in a manner becoming his situation, and attempted to interest the people in his favour. He alleged that he was persecuted in this manner by the patricians, for his zeal in the people's cause; that he was their only surviving friend,

and that their interests were identified with his own: but his scheme appeared so desperate, that he found himself deserted by all. The senate had the justest reason to pursue him; the tribunes envied him his share of popularity, and neglected to espouse his cause; and the multitude, pleased with the patricians for their late compliance, abandoned him up to their fury. Being therefore found guilty of a number of crimes, all tending towards overturning the constitution, notwithstanding his many real services, and the intercession of his friends and clients, he was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, by those very people whose power and privileges he had endeavoured to extend. It was too late that they perceived their error, and began to regret their champion with a degree of sorrow that only still more argued their ingratitude.

Soon after the death of Cassius, the people became again urgent for the execution of the Agrarian law; * but the senate, by a common political manœuvre, caused the consuls to prepare for an expedition against the Æqui. The people at first refused to enlist, till the consuls, hitting upon a new expedient, ordered all the country-houses of the recusants to be levelled with the ground. This had the desired effect; numbers came to offer themselves, that they might save their possessions from destruction, and were led against the enemy, with the usual good fortune of Rome. Thus, while the contest continued in the city, the Roman arms made

* About this period it seems that the tribunes of the people extorted from the senate an appointment of ten men, called *Decemvirs*, to make the division of land, though they were not put into activity till some time after.

continual progress in Italy; for that spirit of liberty which animated both parties, only contributed to inflame their courage, whatever way it was directed, or whatever was the object.

These dilatory arts continued for nearly five years on the part of the senate, and as obstinate a spirit of clamour on that of the people: the one having their private interests, as well as those of the public, to actuate their conduct; the other having a promise given, and a consciousness of their own superior power to increase their obstinacy. In the midst of these troubles, the Romans received a signal defeat, under the conduct of Virginius, one of their consuls, from the Etrurian army; and, though Fabius came very opportunely to his relief, yet, upon his retreat, the enemy made incursions up to the very walls of Rome. This served to inflame the discontents and the animosities of the citizens, the senators still with-holding their promise, and the people refusing to enlist. In such an extremity, the family of the Fabii,* with their vassals and clients, to the number of four thousand men, offered to defend the frontiers of the Roman territories. They built a fort nigh the borders of the enemy, and making frequent incursions, greatly enriched themselves by spoil. It comports not with the brevity of this work, to relate all the minute transactions, and indecisive conflicts, which attended the petty wars between Rome and the surrounding states. It will suffice to say, that they ended with general

* These illustrious victims to the defence of their country are worthy to be compared with the Lacedæmonian phalanx that disputed the pass of Thermopylæ.

good fortune to the Roman people, and sometimes with an extension of territory. The Fabii, however, were not finally successful, being all cut off to a man by an ambuscade, which was laid for them by the people of Veii. Of this noble family, one only survived, whose posterity became afterwards equally serviceable to the state, and were equally illustrious.

While the territories of Rome were enlarged by successive wars, her citizens also became more numerous. In the enumeration taken at this period, they were found to amount to one hundred and eleven thousand men, fit to bear arms, with treble that number of women, children, and slaves. This increase of people without commerce, only tended to advance the disturbances of the city. Every year produced some new tumult between the contending orders of the state. The people now become the electors of the magistrates, had neither skill nor integrity to fix upon competent persons; and scarcely did any consul lay down his office, but the multitude were foremost to accuse his remissness or incapacity. It was in this manner that they accused Menenius, their consul, for suffering the family of the Fabii to be cut off: he was indeed an unskilful general, but at the same time innocent of the charge brought against him. But this did not avail; he was fined about five pounds of our money, a sum, which, though trifling in modern estimation, he was unable to pay, nor would he accept the assistance of his friends: he, therefore, in detestation of the injustice and ingratitude of his fellow-citizens, shut himself up in his own house, and starved himself to death.

The year following, the two preceding consuls,

Manlius and Fabius, were in like manner cited by the tribunes to appear before the people. The Agrarian law was the object invariably pursued, and they were accused of having made unjustifiable delays in putting it off. The same perseverance on one side, and obstinacy on the other, again set the city in a ferment, and threatened destruction to one of the parties, when Genutius the tribune, who had revived the law, was found dead in his bed, though without any marks of violence. A circumstance like this, which should have awakened the suspicions of the people, only served to alarm their superstitions; they began to imagine that the gods were against their cause, and shewed symptoms of returning to their former obedience. The consuls, in order to avail themselves of this fortunate impression, began to make fresh levies; for it was now become the settled policy of the rulers, to draw off the peccant humours of the people by leading a part of them to war. Wherefore, mounting their tribunals, and being attended by their lictors, they continued to enrol the citizens with success, till coming to one Volero, a centurion, who refused to be listed as a private sentinel, they ordered him to be stripped and scourged. This impolitic severity not only rekindled the people's resentment, but afterwards produced a new cause of contention, concerning the power of the consuls and the privileges of the people. The prisoner was rescued by the multitude; the magistrates driven off; and, to complete their mortification, soon after, Volero was made one of the tribunes of the people.

The election of this demagogue was very in-

mical to the views of the patrician party; he was not only resolved upon carrying the Agrarian law, but also upon enacting another, in which the people should give their votes by tribes, and not by curiæ, or centuries. This was another mortal blow to the patrician power; for, when the people voted by centuries, the patricians were entire masters of the contest; and when by curiæ, in which only the inhabitants of the city voted, they also, from their number of clients, had the majority of voices. But when by this law all freemen of Rome, from whatever part of its territories they came, were to be admitted to give a single vote, equal to that of the first senator, all influence was entirely lost, and the patricians had nothing to do but to remain passive. It was, therefore, at first strongly opposed by the senate, and as warmly urged by the people. In this contest, Appius Claudius, the consul, son to the former Appius, who inheriting the inflexible firmness of his father as well as his hatred to the people, took a leading part. In one of their public assemblies he opposed their designs so warmly, and so justly exposed the turbulent tempers of the tribunes, that they ordered him to depart the assembly; and, upon his refusal, they commanded that he should be sent to prison.

This violent stretch of power astonished all the senators who were present; they offered to take arms in his defence; and as the people had in the former case beaten off the lictors, so they were in this driven off by the patricians. This seemed the signal for a new tumult; stones, torches, and every weapon that fury could furnish, in a place where the citizens never carried

arms, were employed against each other. But Quintius, the other consul, a man of a mild and peaceable disposition, throwing himself into the midst of the combatants, entreating and beseeching some, and menacing others, prevailed so far as to assuage their mutual animosity for that night. Their tumults, however, were renewed the day following, with more than former fury; Appius, with all his native fierceness, charging at the head of his clients, and other young patricians; but Lectorius, the tribune, with a multitude of the lower part of the people, taking possession of the capitol, fortified themselves there, seemingly determined to hold it out against their opposers. Their conduct now threatened more alarming consequences than in the former defection of the army on mount Aventine; for as in that, the insurgents were at a distance from Rome, in this, they were in the very heart of the city. All things indeed indicated a total subversion of the constitution, when the conciliatory disposition of Quintius disarmed the violence of the popular party, and obtained a hearing before the senate, respecting the law in question. This venerable body, after many debates, which form, rather than uncertainty, might have dictated, resolved, that the tribunes and the people were to be gratified, and that the law was to be enacted without delay. It was passed by the general consent of all the orders, and the officers of the people were elected from thenceforward by the tribes. Thus the people by degrees left the patricians nothing but the shadow of power, and of this even the multitude, feeling their own importance, were resolved to deprive them.

In the mean time, Appius, as might be expected, was far from being disposed to concur in this new concession to popular importunity; he treated the people with a contempt, that rather seemed the effect of folly than of reason, and bitterly inveighed against the senate's pusillanimity. Nor were the people ignorant of this, but waited for an occasion of shewing their resentment; an opportunity soon offered of gratifying their mutual aversion, upon his being appointed general against the Volscians. These, as usual, had made inroads upon the unguarded frontiers of Rome; and Appius being now the commander of the army, the natural severity of his temper had a field to display itself in. The Roman discipline, which, at the mildest, was extremely rigorous, he by this strictness rendered almost insupportable. The soldiers, on the other hand, reluctantly obeyed a general whom they hated; and he, in return, increased his rigours upon the slowness of their obedience. They, therefore, began to consider his severity rather as a malicious vengeance than a wholesome chastisement, and only awaited the enemy to retaliate, not upon his person, but his glory. Accordingly the Volscians appeared, and the Romans fled. He led them into the camp in order to harangue them, and they universally refused to give him an audience. He then endeavoured to draw them off from the enemy, but the whole body dispersed, instead of making a regular retreat. At length, he found means of securing a part of his forces which yet remained under command, by encamping them in a place of safety; where, marshalling them in their ranks, and reviling

A. C. 469. A. U. C. 279.

them for their cowardice, he gave posterity a striking example of the severity of Roman discipline, and the greatness of military obedience. He first ordered all the centurions who had fled or quitted their ranks, to be scourged and beheaded; he then upbraided his soldiers with having thrown down their arms, and drawing out every tenth man by lot, had him executed in the presence of his trembling companions. Soldiers, with so much ardour for liberty in times of peace, and such profound submission to their generals in times of war, were unquestionably fitted to make the conquest of the world.

Appius, however, did not long survive this tragical scene; for some time after, the tribunes, pushing on the Agrarian law with vigour, while he persisted in his opposition, appointed him a day to answer to an accusation of being the declared enemy of public liberty. Appius obeyed; but appeared before the people, not in the usual manner, in a supplicating dress or posture, but spoke for himself with a confidence that a previous settled resolution to triumph or to die had inspired. The tribunes, finding that his innocence was too apparent to be impeached, and yet unwilling to acquit him, put off his trial to another day. He saw through their design of only waiting to make his condemnation sure, and prevented their malice by a voluntary death. The tribunes wished to deprive him of the obsequies due to a person of his rank; but the consuls allowed the son to pronounce the funeral oration of the father; while the uncertain multitude listened with pleasure to his eulogy.

The death of Appius, and some wise, or ra-

ther incursions made by the Romans into the territories of the Volsci, suspended, for a time, the people's earnestness for the Agrarian law; but these being composed, the tribunes began new commotions, and had the boldness to assert, that the people ought not only to have a share in the lands, but also in the government of the commonwealth, and that a code of written laws should be compiled, to mark out the bounds of their duty.* The opposition to this was not less violent on the side of the patricians, who drove the clamorous multitude from the forum, headed by Cæso, the son of that Quintius Cincinnatus, who is now about to perform such an illustrious character in the drama of the state. The tribunes resolved to make an example of this young patrician, to deter the future outrages of others; and, therefore, appointed him a day to answer before the people. Being the son of a man entirely respected by both parties, he was treated with so much lenity, as to be admitted to bail; but flying to Etruria, his father, Quintius Cincinnatus, was obliged to sell almost his whole estate to reimburse the sureties, and then retreating to a small farm and a little portage beyond the Tiber, lived a content tented life, tilling a few acres with his own hands, and reaping the produce of his industry. The tribunes, however, were not satisfied with the expulsion of Cæso; they still continued to

* Hitherto the administration of justice had belonged to the consuls alone, who regulated their decisions on the principles of natural equity, ancient usage, and the laws of Romulus and his successors, of which some remains still existed in the sacred books, entrusted to the care of the pontiffs, but were carefully concealed from vulgar eyes.

clamour for the Agrarian law, and even raised a report, that the senators had formed a plot against their lives. This contrivance was principally intended to intimidate the senate into a compliance: but it had only the more obvious effect of increasing the tumults of the people, and aggravating their animosity.

In this state of commotion and universal disorder, Rome was upon the point of falling under the power of a foreign enemy. Herdonius, a Sabine, a man of great intrepidity and ambition, formed the design of seizing and plundering the city, while it was torn by intestine distractions. For this purpose, having collected an army of about four thousand men, composed of his clients and fugitive slaves, he sent them down the river Tiber on floats by night; so that the people were astonished the next morning to behold a foreign enemy in possession of the capitol, the citadel of Rome. Herdonius, on his part, did every thing in his power to persuade the lower citizens and slaves to join his party; to the one he promised freedom, to the other an ample participation of benefits and spoil. The tribunes in this exigence, were far from encouraging the people to arm in defence of their country; they, on the contrary, used all their eloquence to dissuade them from fighting, until the patricians should engage by oath to create ten men, with a power of making laws, and to suffer the people to have an equal share in all the benefits that should accrue. These conditions, though very severe, the necessity of the times obliged the consuls to promise; and Valerius, who was one of them, putting himself at the head of a few volunteers, marched towards the capitol, crying out, as he

passed, "Whoever wishes to save his country, "let him follow me." A large body of people followed him to the attack, and the capitol was at length retaken by storm; but the consul was killed in the assault. On this Herdonius threw himself, the slaves died by the hands of the executioner, and the rest were made prisoners of war.

But, though the city was thus delivered from a foreign invasion, it was by no means delivered from its intestine divisions. The tribunes pressed the surviving consuls for the performance of his promise; but it seems the Agrarian law was a grant which the senate could not think of conceding to the people. The consuls therefore made many delays and excuses, till at length, being driven to give a positive answer, he told them, that as the promise was made by the two consuls, he could do nothing alone. An assembly was therefore appointed for choosing another consul; and the senate, in order to thwart the people without hopes of obtaining their wishes, fixed upon Quintius Cincinnatus, whose sons had so lately been obnoxious to them. Cincinnatus, as has been already related, had for some time relinquished all views of ambition, and retired to his little farm, where the deputies of the senate found him holding the plough, and dressed in an attire corresponding to his employment. He appeared but little elevated with the address of ceremony, and the pompous habits they brought him; and, upon declaring to him the senate's pleasure, he testified a real concern that his aid should be wanted: he naturally preferred the charms of country retirement to the fatiguing splendours of office, and only said to his wife, as they were leading him away,

"I fear, my Publius, that for this year our little "fields must remain neglected." Then taking a tender leave, he departed for the city, where both parties were strongly inflamed against each other. This new consul, however, was resolved to side with neither; but, instead of attempting to gain the confidence of faction, to pay a strict attention to the best interests of his country. Thus, by threats, and well-timed submission, he prevailed upon the tribunes to put off their law for a time, and carried himself so as to be a terror to the multitude, whenever they refused to enlist, and their greatest encouragement whenever their submission deserved it. His policy consisted in holding the citizens, who had regained the capitol, as still engaged to follow him by their oath, and threatening to lead them into a winter encampment, to which they were totally unaccustomed, in case they disobeyed; by which he so far intimidated the tribunes, that they gave up their law, upon condition of his foregoing the threatened encampment. Upon the whole, he discharged his office with such skill, moderation, humanity, and justice, that the people seemed to forget they wanted new laws, and the senate seemed to wish that his power might be more permanent. Having, however, restored that tranquillity to the people which he so much loved himself, he again gave up the splendours of ambition, and resigned the fasces, to enjoy his little farm with a greater relish.

From this tranquil retreat he was soon drawn a second time, by a fresh exigence of the state. The Æqui and the Volsci, who, though still worsted, came for renewing the war, made pow-

inroads into the territories of Rome. Minutius, one of the consuls who succeeded Cincinnatus, was sent to oppose them; but, being naturally timid, and more afraid of defeat, than desirous of victory, his army was forced into a defile between two mountains, from which, except through the enemy, there was no egress. This, however, the Æqui had the precaution to fortify; by which the Roman army was so hemmed in on every side, that nothing remained but submission to the foe, famine, or immediate death. Some horsemen, who found means of getting away privately through the enemy's camp, were the first that brought the account of the disaster to Rome. Nothing could exceed the consternation of all ranks of people, when informed of this dilemma; the senate, at first, thought of the other consul; but not having sufficient experience of his abilities, they unanimously turned their eyes upon Cincinnatus, and resolved to make him Dictator. Cincinnatus, the only person on whom Rome could now place her whole dependence, was found, as before, by the messengers of the senate, labouring in his little field with cheerful industry. When he saw at some distance the deputies sent to announce his election, preceded by twenty-four lictors, he put on his upper garment, and advancing to meet them, said, "What news do you bring "from Rome?" "Rome our country and yours, "is in danger—she requires a dictator, and has "made choice of you." Cincinnatus heaved a sigh at the recital, and casting a look of sorrow on his oxen and the companions of his toils, departed for the city, near which he was met by the principal of the senate in their robes.

A dignity so unlooked, so unwished for, however, had no effect upon the simplicity, or the integrity of his manners: and though now possessed of absolute power, and called upon to nominate his master of the horse, he chose a poor man, named Tarquitius, one who, like himself, despised riches when they led to dishonour. Tarquitius was born of a patrician family, but though of consummate bravery, never being able to raise money to purchase a horse, he had hitherto fought only as a foot soldier, willing to serve his country, though in the humblest situation. Thus the saving a great nation was devolved upon an husbandman, taken from the plough, and an obscure sentinel, found among the dregs of the army. Upon entering the city, the dictator instantly made himself acquainted with the position of affairs, and assuming a serene look, entreated all those who were able to bear arms, to repair, before sunset, to the Campus Martius, the plane where the levies were made, with necessary arms and provisions for five days. He then put himself at their head, and marching all night with great expedition, arrived before day within sight of the enemy. Upon his approach he ordered the soldiers to raise a loud shout, to apprise the consul's army of the relief that was at hand. The Æqui were not a little amazed, when they saw themselves between two enemies, but still more when they perceived Cincinnatus making the strongest entrenchments beyond them, to prevent their escape, and enclosing them, as they had inclosed the consul. To prevent this, a furious combat ensued; but the Æqui, being attacked on both sides, and unable to resist or fly,

begged a cessation of arms; they offered the dictator his own terms: he gave them their lives; but, obliged them, in token of servitude, to pass under the yoke; which was two spears set upright, and another across, in the form of a gallows, beneath which the vanquished were to march. Their captains and generals he made prisoners of war, being reserved to adorn his triumph. Then addressing the army he had just delivered, "Soldiers of Mamitius," said he, "you who were so nearly becoming a prey to "your enemies, shall not share their spoils: and "you, consul, must learn the art of war as a lieu- "tenant before you command as a general." Not a murmur was heard at this decision: on the contrary, the whole army in conjunction presented Cincinnatus with a crown of gold for having saved the lives and honour of his fellow-citizens. Thus, having rescued a Roman army from inevitable destruction, having defeated a powerful enemy, having taken and fortified their city, and, still more, having refused any part of the spoil, he hastened to resign his dictatorship, after having enjoyed it but fourteen days. The senate would have enriched him, but he declined their proffers, choosing to retire once more to his farm and his cottage, content with temperance and the consciousness of native worth.

Next year the Æqui, resolving to retrieve their lost reputation, again marched into the field, and retook their city. On the other hand, when levies were to be made in Rome to oppose their progress, the tribunes refused to let the people be enrolled. The necessity of the times, however, was such, that an army was to be raised; and the senators, finding the reluctance

of the multitude, offered to go themselves, with their clients and dependents. So many old and reverend men, who had long been considered as the fathers of the state, marching feebly out to meet an enemy, whom the young and the vigorous refused to encounter, affected the multitude to such a degree, that, in spite of their demagogues, they offered to go; only demanding, as a recompence, to have the number of their tribunes increased from five to ten. This some of the senate considered as an expedient to multiply the number of their enemies; but Cincinnatus, who judged more maturely upon the subject, assured them, it would be the most infallible means of debilitating that power which had so long controlled them; that in case ten were elected, in such a number there were the most just expectations to bring over a part, and that a single tribune could reverse the resolutions of all the rest. Accordingly the senate readily came into his opinion, and pretending to make their compliance a favour, informed the tribunes, that they had, after much deliberation, thought proper to grant their request.

This concession seemed for a while to satisfy the people; but in less than a year, the new tribunes, the first time, uniting all together, made still further encroachments, and ventured, by their own authority, to order an assembling of the senate. They required also, that mount Aventine, which was a mile and a half in compass, and as yet untenanted, might be granted to the people to build on. With this, though not till after the most violent contests, the senate agreed, in hopes that it might be a means of suppressing the seditions, which they dread-

ed from delaying to confirm the Agrarian law. Nevertheless, in this they were disappointed; for soon after, the tribunes renewed their former complaints and insolence; and the contests were carried on with so little decency, that blows, and not arguments, generally terminated every deliberation. To such a pitch of audaciousness indeed were they arrived, that these demagogues appointed a day even for the consuls to appear before the people. They thought proper, however, upon cool consideration, to drop this insolent prosecution; but at the same time resolved not to discontinue their unremitting endeavours for the Agrarian law. A day accordingly was fixed, on which this important subject was to be discussed; and numbers of all ranks were present, either to give their votes, or their opinions. The tribunes spoke copiously on the justice of such a law. Several of the people related what services they had done, and what trifling rewards they had obtained; the audience were prepossessed in favour of the law, but still more, when Siccius Dentatus, a plebeian, advanced in years, but of an admirable person and military deportment, came forward to enumerate his hardships and his merits. This old soldier made no scruple of extolling the various achievements of his youth, but indeed his merits ennobled ostentation. He had served his country in the wars forty years; he had been an officer thirty; first a centurion, then a tribune; he had fought one hundred and twenty battles, in which, by the force of his single arm, he had saved a multitude of lives: he had gained fourteen civic, three mural, and eight golden crowns, besides eighty-three chains, sixty bracelets, eigh-

teen gilt spears, and twenty-three horse-trappings, whereof nine were for killing the enemy in single combat: moreover, he had received forty-five wounds all in front; particularly twelve, on the day the capitol was recovered from the enemy. These were his pretensions; yet he had never received any share of those lands which were taken from the enemy, but continued to drag on a life of poverty and contempt, while others were possessed of those very territories which his valour had won, without any merit to deserve them, and without having contributed to the conquest in the smallest degree. A case of so much hardship, though sufficiently common both in ancient and modern times, had a strong effect upon the multitude: they unanimously demanded, that the law might be passed, and that such merit should not go unrewarded. It was in vain that some of the senators rose up to speak against it; their voices were drowned by the cries of the populace. When reason, therefore, could no longer be heard, passion, as usual, succeeded; and the young patricians, running furiously into the throng, broke the balloting urns, and dispersed the multitude that offered to oppose them. For this they were some time after mulcted by the tribunes; but their resolution, nevertheless, for the present put off the Agrarian law, whose establishment had already been so often agitated.

It generally happens that internal commotions are composed by foreign invasions; and the approach of the Æqui, within sixteen miles of the city, in some measure restored peace to the republic. In this war Siccius Dentatus, the veteran who had harangued the people, gained

greater honours than the consul who obtained the victory; for being ordered upon a forlorn hope, to attack the enemy in a quarter where he knew they were inaccessible, he, at first, remonstrated against the danger and desperation of the attempt; but being reproached by the consul with cowardice, he led on his body of eight hundred veterans to the place, resolved to give, by his death, a pattern of obedience, as he had in his life an example of resolution. Fortune was more propitious than he had dared to hope; for perceiving a passage into the enemy's camp, which had not been indicated by the consul, he led his veterans forward, and while the whole army amused the enemies on one side, he attacked their camp on the other, so that the Romans obtained a complete victory. Dentatus, however, being conscious that he was sent upon this dangerous service, only to procure him death or infamy, had interest enough, upon his return, to prevent the consul's having a triumph, as also to get himself created a tribune. The same hero likewise procured a law to be passed for punishing such magistrates as should in future violate their authority, and for having both consuls fined for their behaviour to him in particular. Thus fortune conspired with the persevering zeal of the tribunes, to diminish the patrician interest every year. All their honours were now fading fast away; their very possessions, those fruits of hereditary planting, remained feebly in suspense, and the next popular breeze threatened to shake them to the ground, and leave them to be divided according to worth not to birth.

## CHAP. V.

*From the Creation of the Decemviri to the Extinction of that Office.*

FOR the long period of sixty years, the commonwealth of Rome had been perpetually agitated by the virulence of faction, and the conflict of opposite parties. At length each side, as if weary, seemed inclined to respire a while from the mutual exertions of their claims, or rather to give them a new direction. The Agrarian law became in a manner forgotten, and all the animosity which it had produced appeared to subside. But it has ever been the fate of mankind to form new desires, in exact proportion to the number of their possessions. There must always be some object to engage the attention of the public as well as of individuals; and when the mind is tired of contemplating one subject, it hastens with ardour to embrace another. The citizens of every rank now began to complain of the arbitrary decisions of their magistrates, and wished to be guided by a written body of laws, which being known, might prevent wrongs, as well as punish them. This idea, which was first started by Terentius*, was equally acceptable both to A. C. 451. U. C. 297.

* Hence called the Terentian law, and which for a time excited as much public attention as the Agrarian had ever done. The laws of Solon formed the basis of the system now established.

the senate and the people, as hoping that such a system of jurisprudence would put an end to the commotions that had so long harassed the state. It was thereupon agreed, that ambassadors should be sent to the Greek cities in Italy, and to Athens, to bring home such laws from thence, as by experience had been found most equitable and useful. For this purpose, three senators, Posthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, were fixed upon, and galleys assigned to convoy them, in a style suitable to the majesty of the Roman people. While they were upon this commission abroad, a dreadful plague depopulated the city at home, and supplied the interval of their absence with other anxieties than that of wishes for innovations. In about a year the plague ceased, and the ambassadors returned, bringing home a body of laws, collected from the most civilized states of Greece and Italy, which being afterwards formed into ten tables, and two more being added, constituted that celebrated code, called the laws of the twelve tables, many fragments of which remain to this day, and are recognised in different nations of Europe.

But on this important topic it is necessary to enlarge. The ambassadors were no sooner returned, than the tribunes required that a body of men should be chosen to digest the collected laws into proper form, and to give weight to their execution. After long debates whether this choice should not be partly made from the people as well as the patricians, it was at last agreed that ten of the principal senators should be elected, whose power continuing for a year, should be equal to that of kings and consuls, and that without any appeal: that all other

magistrates should lay down their offices, until the laws should direct proper substitutes; and that the new legislators should, in the mean time, exercise their authority with all the ensigns of the former but now discontinued power. The persons chosen were Appius and Genutius, who had been elected consuls for the ensuing year; Posthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, the three ambassadors; Sextus and Romulus, former consuls; with Julius, Veturius, and Horatius, senators of the first distinction. Thus the whole constitution of the state at once assumed a new form, and a dreadful experiment was going to be tried, of governing one nation by laws taken from the manners and customs of another, totally different in its genius and polity.

The Decemviri, being now invested with absolute power, agreed to take the reins of government by turns, and that each should dispense justice for a day. In order to avoid envy, they determined likewise that he alone who was in the actual exercise of power should be attended with the ensigns of it; and that each of the rest should be only preceded by a petty officer, called Accensus, to distinguish him from the vulgar.

The novelty of this form of government, at first seemed extremely pleasing to the people; nor was the moderation of the decemviri themselves unworthy of praise. Appius, in particular, bore away the greatest share of popularity: his affable air, his republican professions, and his engaging assiduity, made the people even forget the violence of his ancestors, or that they once trembled at the name. These magistrates, for the first year, laboured with

extreme application: they had not only to compile from a great variety of Greek laws, but they were obliged also to get them interpreted by one Hermodorus, an Ephesian, as they themselves were ignorant of the original language: a strong instance how little at this time the Romans were advanced in polite learning. At length, however, by the help of their interpreter, they formed a body of laws from those imported from Greece, interwoven with the ordinances of their own kings; the whole comprised in ten tables. These being submitted to the public were generally approved, engraven on plates of brass, and hung up to public view, in the most conspicuous part of the forum.

It was the prevailing opinion that the work was now finished, and, in consequence, it was expected, that the decemviri would be contented to give up their offices; but having tasted the sweets of power, they were unwilling to resign; and, that they might have a plausible pretext for what they wished to do, they pretended that some laws were yet wanting to complete their design, and entreated the senate for a continuance of their appointment; to which that body assented. The choice of persons was next the object of public consideration. Appius, burning with a secret thirst for power, yet knowing the danger of its exposal, feigned himself quite disgusted with the fatigues of the office, and wished only for an able successor. Nevertheless, by covert means, he contrived to put all those popular arts in practice, which he knew would, upon his standing candidate, secure his election. Accordingly, when the day came, his colleagues were surprised to see him the first upon the list of those

who stood for the office; and still more, when they found him elected by a great majority of the giddy people, who mistook his ambition for popularity. His friends also were elected through his influence. Fabius, Cornelius, Servilius, Minutius, Antonius and Rabulius, who were patricians; together with the plebeians Betillius, Oppius, and Duellius, formed the second decemvirate. These last three were chosen from among the people by the interest of Appius, who, to ingratiate himself with the multitude, observed, that it was very proper the people should have a share in forming those laws, by which they were to be hereafter governed.

Appius, being thus reinstated in this high office, turned all his thoughts towards rendering it formidable and perpetual; he therefore convened his colleagues, and knowing them to be all his creatures, he opened to them his design of retaining the power of which they had been put into possession. As they had been previously instructed, they readily came into his proposal, and bound themselves by the most solemn vows never to dissent from each other; never to give up their authority; and not to resort to the opinions, either of the senate or the people, but in cases of absolute necessity. At this period, therefore, the decemvirate put on a very different appearance from that of the former year: instead only of one of them being attended by his rods and axes, each made his appearance with those ensigns of terror and authority. Instead of magistrates, mild, just, and affable, the people beheld them converted into monsters of rapine, licentiousness, and cruelty. They made the forms of justice an engine to put many of

the citizens to death, and deprive others of their estates and country. Accusers and informers were suborned from among their dependents, ready to give evidence as they were commanded; while those who expected redress in any suit of justice, had no prospect of success, but to enter into a criminal confederacy with the judges. Thus an universal corruption began to spread itself over the people; while the good and the wise either became voluntary exiles from Rome, or secretly bewailed the misfortunes of their country.

But as such violence could not long continue without some of the usual arts of deception, which even tyranny must sometimes stoop to use, the decemviri, in order to convince the people that they were not unmindful of their delegated trust, added two tables more of laws to those already promulgated, which altogether formed, as we have before said, that body of laws, known by the name of the TWELVE TABLES. In these last was introduced a law, prohibiting all marriages between the patricians and plebeians; by which the framers hoped to widen the breach between the two orders, and thus avail themselves of their mutual animosity. Their designs, however, were easily seen through; but the people bore them with patience, for the time of the expiration of their office was now at hand, when it was expected they would quietly lay down their usurped authority. But they soon threw off the mask, and, regardless either of the approbation of the senate or the people, continued themselves, contrary to all precedent, and against all order, another year in the decemvirate. A conduct so tyrannic pro-

duced new discontents, and these were as sure to produce fresh acts of tyranny to silence them. The city was become almost a desert, with respect to all who had any thing to lose, and the decemvirs' rapacity was then only abated, when they wanted fresh objects for its exercise. In this state of slavery, proscription, and mutual distrust, not a single citizen was found who had courage to strike for his country's freedom. The tyrants continued to rule without controul, being constantly guarded, not with their lictors alone, but by a numerous crowd of dependents, clients, and even patricians, whom their vices had confederated round them, while the virtuous and the patriotic were restrained by fear even from venting their complaints.

In this gloomy situation of the state, the Æqui and Volsci, those constant enemies of the Romans, renewed their incursions, in hopes of profiting by the intestine divisions of the people, and advanced within about ten miles of Rome. This was a thunder-stroke to the decemviri, who had no authority to raise an army themselves, and felt great reluctance in asking aid from the senate, whose deliberations had been long suspended. In this pressing juncture, however, the senate was, at last, called together; when Appius, in a premeditated oration, propounded the business for which they were convened. He then desired that each should speak his sentiments as he was called upon; but Valerius, the grandson of Publicola, rising out of his turn, he was ordered by the tyrant to sit down. Valerius, however, refused to obey, but violently inveighed against the tyranny of the decemvirate, and their effrontery, in expecting that the senate,

whose power they had destroyed, should now take measures to support their betrayers. His speech revived the almost extinguished courage of others, and he was seconded by Marcus Horatius, who, with still greater freedom, exposed their horrid invasion of the rights of their country, their outrages, their rapines, and their cruelty. Appius, at first, seemed to bear this harangue with patience; but at last his passions, long used to indulgence, could no longer be suppressed; he flew out into the most indecent violence, raged against his opposers, and threatened to have Horatius hurled from the Tarpeian rock. The whole body of senators at last, roused by this indignity, exclaimed against the decemvir's infringement of the liberty of free debate, as the highest breach of their privileges, and an intolerable act of power. On this Appius, a little repenting his rashness, began to excuse himself, by saying, that he was willing to give liberty to all deliberations upon the question, but could not bear an oration, which, wandering from the point in debate, only seemed calculated to promote sedition; that he and his colleagues had received an unlimited power from the people till the great work of forming the laws was finished; during which they were resolved to act to the extent of their power, and then would be answerable for their administration. This was a sufficient avowal of their intentions: all the uncorrupt part of the senate, particularly Claudius, the uncle of Appius, spoke with detestation of their proceedings; but a large party in the house, which the decemviri had previously formed, and still others whom their fears had biassed, shewed themselves inclined to co-

incide with Appius, in whatever he should propose. He therefore demanded, that he and his colleagues should have a power of levying and commanding the forces that were destined to repel the Æqui; and immediately a decree of the senate passed, confirming this appointment.

The conscript fathers being reduced to the humiliating situation of granting a forced sanction to tyranny, were immediately dismissed; and the decemviri, now in possession of all the military as well as of the civil power, divided their army into three parts; whereof one continued with Appius in the city, to keep it in awe; the other two were commanded by his colleagues, and were led one against the Æqui, the other against the Volsci. The Roman soldiers had lately adopted an ingenious and effectual method of punishing the generals whom they disliked, by suffering themselves to be vanquished in the field. They put it in practice upon this occasion, and shamefully abandoned their camp upon the approach of the enemy. Never was the news of a victory more joyfully received at Rome than the tidings of this defeat; the generals, as is always the case, were blamed for the treachery of their men; some demanded that they should be deposed, others cried out for a Dictator to lead the troops to conquest; but among the rest, old Siccius Dentatus, the tribune, spoke his sentiments with his usual candour and frankness; and, treating the generals with contempt, exposed all the faults of their discipline in the camp, and their conduct in the field. Appius, in the mean time, was not remiss in observing the disposition of the people. Dentatus in particular was marked out for ven-

geance; and, under pretence of doing him particular honour, he was appointed legate, and put at the head of the supplies which were sent from Rome to reinforce the army. The office of legate was held sacred among the Romans, as in it were united the authority of a general, with the reverence due to the priesthood. Dentatus, unsuspicious of any design against his person or honour, went to the camp with alacrity, where he was received with all the external marks of respect. But the generals soon found means of indulging their desire of revenge. He was sent at the head of an hundred men to examine a more commodious place for encampment, as he had very candidly assured the commanders, that their present situation was ineligible. The soldiers, however, who accompanied him, were assassins; wretches who had long been ministers of the vengeance of the decemviri, and who now engaged to murder him, though with all those apprehensions which his high reputation * might be supposed to inspire. With these designs they led him from the way into the hollow bosom of a retired mountain, where they began to set upon him from behind. Dentatus too late perceived the treachery of the decemviri, and was resolved to sell his life as dearly as he could: he therefore placed his back against a rock, and put himself in a posture of defence. Though now grown old, he had still the remains of his former valour, and killed no less than fifteen of the assailants, and wounded thirty with

* Dentatus has for some time obtained the glorious appellation of the Roman Achilles; and perhaps his heroism well deserved it.

his own hand. The assassins therefore, terrified at his amazing bravery, showered in their javelins upon him at a distance, all which he received in his shield with undaunted resolution. The combat, though so unequal in numbers, was managed for some time with doubtful success, till at length his assailants bethought themselves of ascending the rock, against which he stood, and thus poured down stones upon him from above. This succeeded; the old soldier fell beneath their united efforts; after having shewn by his death, that he owed his former numerous deeds of fame, not to fortune but to valour. The decemviri pretended to join in the general sorrow for so brave a man, and decreed him a funeral, with the first military honours: but the greatness of their apparent distress, compared with their known hatred, only rendered them still more detestable to the people. A transaction, however, still more atrocious than what we have related, at last inspired the citizens with resolution to break all measures of obedience, and to emancipate themselves into freedom.

Appius, who still remained at Rome, sitting one day on his tribunal to dispense justice, beheld a very young maiden of exquisite beauty, passing to one of the public schools, attended by her nurse. The charms of this damsel, heightened by all the innocence of virgin modesty, caught his attention, and fired his heart. The day following, as she passed, he thought her still more beautiful than before, and his breast was still more inflamed with desire. He therefore resolved to obtain the gratification of his passion, whatever might be the consequence, and, as a preliminary step, took means to inform

himself of the virgin's family and connections. Her name was Virginia: she was the daughter of Virginius, a centurion, then with the army in the field, and had been contracted to Icilius, formerly a tribune of the people, who intended to marry her at the end of the present campaign. Appius, at first, resolved to break this match, and to espouse her himself; but the laws of the twelve tables had forbidden the patricians to intermarry with the plebeians; and he could not infringe a regulation which he had been so anxious to establish. Nothing therefore remained for him to attempt but a criminal enjoyment, which, as he was long used to the indulgence of his passions, he resolved to obtain. After having vainly tried to corrupt the fidelity of her nurse, he had recourse to another expedient still more guilty. He secretly prevailed upon one Claudius, who had long been the minister of his pleasures, to assert that the beautiful maid was his slave, and to refer the cause to his own tribunal for decision. Claudius behaved exactly according to his instructions; for, entering into the school where Virginia was placed among her female companions, he seized upon her as his property, and was going to drag her away by force, had he not been prevented by the people, drawn together by her cries. At length, after the first heat of opposition was over, he led the weeping virgin to the tribunal of Appius, and there plausibly supported his pretensions, by asserting that she was born in his house, of a female slave, and sold by her to the wife of Virginius, who had been barren. He concluded by affirming that he had several credible evidences to prove the truth of what he said; but that, until they could

be summoned, it was but reasonable the slave should be delivered into his custody, as her proper master.

The vile decemvir affected to be struck with the justice of his claims; he observed, that if the reputed father were present, he might indeed be willing to delay the delivery of the maiden for some time, but that it was not lawful for him, in the present case, to detain her from her lawful master. He therefore adjudged her to Claudius, as his slave, to be kept by him till Virginius should be able to prove his paternity. This sentence was received with loud murmurs and reproaches by the multitude; the women in particular, surrounded the innocent Virginia, as if willing to protect her from the judge's fury; while Icilius her lover, boldly opposed the decree, and obliged Claudius to take refuge under the tribunal of the decemvir, for whom he was pandering. All things now threatened an open insurrection, when Appius, fearing the event, thought proper to suspend his judgment till the arrival of Virginius, who was with the army, at a small distance from Rome. The day following was fixed for the decision; and in the mean time, Appius sent letters to the generals to confine Virginius, as his arrival in town might only serve to kindle sedition among the people. These letters, however, were intercepted by the centurion's friends, who sent him a full relation of the design laid against the liberty and the honour of his only daughter. Virginius upon this, pretending the death of a near relation, obtained permission to leave the camp, and flew to Rome, inspired with indignation and revenge. Accordingly, the next day he appeared before

the tribunal, to the astonishment of Appius, leading his weeping daughter by the hand, both habited in the deepest mourning. Claudius, the accuser, was also there, and began by urging his specious claims; he said it was well known, that the children of slaves belonged to the masters of their parents, and that Virginia was born in slavery. He observed that pity might be an inducement to many to forego their claims, but that he was determined to sacrifice all minuter considerations to justice. He then produced a female slave, whom he had corrupted, to swear that she had sold Virginia to the wife of her reputed father; and concluded his pretensions by asserting, that he could confirm her testimony by that of many others, were it needful. Virginius next spoke; he represented that his wife had borne many children; that her pregnancy was known to all her neighbours; that, if he had intentions of adopting a supposititious child, he would have fixed upon a boy rather than a girl; that it was notorious to all, that his wife had suckled her own child; and that it was surprising such a claim should be received, after fifteen years' silent acquiescence.

While the father spoke this with a stern air, Virginia stood trembling by, and with looks of persuasive innocence, added weight to all his remonstrances. The people seemed entirely satisfied of the infamy of the business; but Appius, unwilling to forego his criminal designs, and fearful lest the arguments of Virginius might have dangerous effects upon the multitude, interrupted him, under a pretence of being sufficiently instructed in the merits of the cause. "Yes (says he,) my conscience obliges me to

"declare, that I myself am a witness of the truth "of the deposition of Claudius. Most of this assembly know that I was left guardian to this "youth, and I was very early apprised, that he "had a right to this young woman; but the affairs "of the public, and the dissensions of the people, "then prevented my doing justice. However, "it is not now too late: and, by the power "vested in me for the public good, I adjudge "Virginia to be the property of Claudius, the "plaintiff. Go therefore, lictors, disperse the "multitude; and make room for a master to re-"possess himself of his slave."

The lictors, in obedience to his command, soon drove off the throng that pressed round the tribunal; they then seized upon Virginia, and were delivering her into the hands of Claudius, when Virginius, who found that all further efforts would prove ineffectual, seemed to acquiesce in the sentence. He therefore mildly intreated Appius to be permitted to take a last farewel of one whom he had long considered as his child, and after this indulgence, he would return to his duty with fresh alacrity. With this the decemvir complied, but upon condition, that their endearments should pass in his presence. Virginius, with the most poignant anguish, took his almost expiring daughter in his arms, for a while supported her head upon his breast, and wiped away the tears that rolled down her lovely face. But his fatal resolution was taken, and the endearments of love were lost in the sense of honour. Happening to be near the shops that surrounded the forum, he snatched up a knife that lay on the shambles, and addressing his daughter, "My dearest lost child (cried he,)

"this, this alone can preserve your honour and "your freedom." So saying, he plunged the weapon to her heart, and then holding it up reeking with the blood of his daughter, "Ap-"pius (he cried,) by the blood of this inno-"cent, I devote thy head to the infernal gods." So saying, with the bloody knife in his hand, and threatening destruction to whomsoever should oppose him, he ran through the city, wildly calling upon the people to strike for freedom; and from thence went to the camp, in order to spread a like flame through the army.

He no sooner arrived at the camp, followed by a number of his friends, than he informed the army of all that was done, still holding the bloody knife in his hand. He asked their pardon, and the pardon of the gods, for having committed so rash an action, but ascribed it wholly to the dreadful necessity of the times. He implored them, by that blood which was dearer to him than his own, to redeem their sinking country; observing, that no military oaths could bind men to commanders, who were all usurpers, and could pretend to no real claims upon their allegiance. The army, already predisposed, immediately with shouts echoed their assent, and decamping left their generals behind, to take their station once more upon mount Aventine, whither they had retired about forty years before. The other army, which had been formed to oppose the Sabines, seemed to adopt a like resentment, and came over in large parties to join them.

Having taken this desperate step from which there was no retracting, they immediately began to feel the want of a leader, and would have

chosen Virginius, but he declined the office. "My daughter (said he,) is dead, and I "have not yet avenged her. Before I can ac- "cept of any honour, her manes must be ap- "peased; and what prudence, what modera- "tion, can you expect from a man whom our "tyrant has reduced to desperation? I shall be "more serviceable to the common cause as a "private soldier than as a general."

These weighty considerations made them resolve on choosing other commanders, and hence originated the military tribunes, who, in the sequel, held a relative rank with the generals in the army, as the tribunes of the people did with the consuls in the city.

Appius, in the mean time, exerted all his influence to quell the disturbance in the city; but, finding the tumult incapable of being controlled, and perceiving that his mortal enemies, Valerius and Horatius, were the most active in opposition, he at first attempted to find safety by flight; nevertheless, being encouraged by Oppius, one of his colleagues, he ventured to assemble the senate, and urged the punishment to be inflicted upon deserters. The senate, however, were far from giving him the relief he sought for; they foresaw the dangers and miseries that threatened the state, in case of opposing the incensed army; accordingly they dispatched messengers to them, offering to restore their former mode of government, by consuls and tribunes. To this proposal the people joyfully assented, and the army cheerfully entering into the same views, returned to the city, if not with the ensigns, at least with the pleasure of a triumphant entry.

Thus ended the decemvirate, after having

continued somewhat less than three years; and the government of Rome was a second time changed by an attempt on female chastity. What the decemviri had done, that was really beneficial, remained in full force; the laws they had promulgated were considered as a perpetual code of public and private rights to the Roman citizens, and ever will be regarded with veneration among civilised nations. The merit of this compilation indeed is so great that it throws a partial lustre over the decemvirate, and veils many of its crimes; yet the unanimous voice of the Roman historians is loud in invectives against the officers who composed it, or rather against the infamous Appius, who was the head and source of offence.

## CHAP. VI.

*From the Expulsion of the Decemviri, to the Beginning of the first Punic War.*

DELIVERED from a yoke, which in the first instance the people had inconsiderately laid upon themselves, Valerius and Horatius were elected consuls, and Virginius and Icilius received into the number of the tribunes. The punishment of the decemviri was what first engaged the attention of these popular magistrates; and Appius was appointed a day to answer the charges brought against him of tyranny and murder. Oppius, one of his colleagues, and next to him in detestation and guilt, was also arraigned; but both too well saw what mercy they had to expect, either from their judges, who were professed enemies, or from the people, whose resentment they had but too frequently incurred: they, therefore, resolved to prevent that fury which they could not withstand; and both died by their own hands in prison. The other eight went into voluntary exile, and their property was confiscated; while Claudius, the pretended master of Virginia, was banished. Thus the vengeance of the tribunes pursued these devoted men to the utmost, and seemed as yet unsatisfied with punishing. They were even preparing to out-go those whom they had deposed for cruelty, in acts of oppression; and the senate began to

A. C. 448. U. C. 300.

tremble at seeing so many of their members menaced with destruction. Duillius, however, one of the tribunes, a man more moderate than the rest of his colleagues, quieted their fears by openly professing, that no more blood should be shed on this occasion; that sufficient vengeance had been taken for the death of Virginia, and that he interdicted all future prosecutions on that account.

This allayed the fears of the senate for the present; but they soon found cause of fresh resentment. The two new consuls seemed entirely to have abandoned the interests of the patricians; and, equally popular with the tribunes themselves, to study only the gratification of the people. They procured a law to be ratified, for it had been projected before, by which each of the plebeians should, in his individual capacity, have as much influence in all elections and deliberations whatsoever, as any one of the patricians; which gave the finishing blow to all distinction between them. A law so injurious to the power of the senate, produced, as may be easily supposed, a desire to mortify the consuls; who only aimed at increasing their own influence, by the depression of that body. An opportunity for this soon offered; for the consuls, having marched against the Æqui and the Sabines, gained a complete victory, and in consequence demanded a triumph. The senate, however, were resolved to mortify them, and declared them unworthy of that honour. The consuls appealed to the people, and, complaining loudly against the senate, obtained a decree for the privilege of a triumph, by the authority of the plebeians alone. Thus the two orders of the

state continued for some years mutually opposing each other; the patricians defending the small shadow of distinction which was left them; and the people daily insisting upon fresh concessions, as if their appetites increased by what was granted to satisfy them. In short, the shock which the republic had experienced by the creation and abolition of the decemvirs, caused, for more than fifty years, a vibration in the government, which prevented it from becoming stationary. There was a constant action and re-action between the different orders; and the Roman people, having acquired a habit of change, seemed at last to confound innovation with improvement.

Meanwhile, these intestine tumults produced weakness within the state, and confidence in the enemy abroad. The war with the Æqui and Volsci still continued; and as each year some trifling advantages were obtained over the Romans, they, at last, advanced so far, as to make their incursions to the very walls of Rome. But not the courage only of the Romans seemed diminished by these contests, but their other virtues also, particularly their justice. About this time, the inhabitants of two neighbouring cities, Ardea and Aricia, had a contest between themselves, about some lands that had long been claimed by both. At length, being unable to agree, they referred it to the senate and people of Rome. The senate had yet some of the principles of primitive justice remaining, and refused to determine the dispute. But the people readily undertook the decision, and one Scaptius, an old man, declaring, that these very lands of right belonged to Rome, they imme-

diately voted themselves to be the legal possessors, and sent home the former litigants, thoroughly convinced of their own folly, and of the Roman injustice.

The tribunes also grew more and more turbulent; and having now obtained a principal share in the administration of some departments of government, nothing would satisfy them without having a participation of the whole. With these views, they proposed two laws, in violation of the sanctions of the twelve tables; one to permit plebeians to intermarry with patricians; and the other, to allow them to be admitted to the consulship also. The senators received these propositions with their accustomed indignation, and seemed resolved to undergo the utmost extremities, rather than to be instrumental in giving them force. However, finding their resistance only increase the commotions of the state, without the probability of ultimately prevailing, they, at last, consented to pass the law concerning marriages, hoping that this concession would have satisfied the people. But they were appeased but for a very short time; for returning to their old custom of refusing to enlist upon the approach of the enemy, the consuls were forced to hold a private conference with the chief of the senate; where, after many debates, Claudius proposed an expedient, as the most probable means of satisfying the people in the present conjuncture. His plan was by no means to contaminate the consulship, by suffering it to come into the hands of the people; but to create six or eight governors in the room of consuls, whereof one half, at least, should be patricians. This project, which was but a poor subterfuge of

humbled power, and was, in fact, granting what the people demanded, pleased the whole meeting; and, that nothing might seem pre-concerted among them, they agreed, that, at the next public meeting of the senate, the consuls should, contrary to their usual custom, begin by asking the opinion of the youngest senator; whereas, formerly, they always began by asking that of the senior. Upon assembling the senate, one of the tribunes accused them of holding secret meetings, and concerting dangerous designs against the interests of the people. The consuls, on the other hand, averred their innocence; and, to demonstrate their sincerity, gave any of the younger members of the house leave to propound their opinions. These remaining silent, such of the older senators as were known to be popular, began by observing, that the people ought to be indulged in their request; that none so well deserved power, as those who were most instrumental in gaining it; and that the city could not be free until all were reduced to perfect equality.

Claudius, as had been agreed upon, spoke next; and, though he professed to be very willing to advance the propositions of those who spoke before him, the better to conceal his designs, he broke out into bitter invectives against the people; asserting that it was his opinion the law should not pass. This produced some disturbance among the plebeians; but at length, Genutius, as if to conciliate the senate and the people, proposed, as had been pre-concerted, that six governors should be annually chosen, with consular authority, three from the senate, and three from the people; and that when the time

of their magistracy should be expired, then it would be for the consideration of the people, whether they would have the same form continued, or whether the consulship should revert to its former establishment. This project was eagerly embraced by the people, because it promised something new; and leave was given to any of the plebeians to stand for this new office. Yet so fickle were the multitude, that though many of their own rank stood, not one of them was thought worthy of the honour, and the choice wholly fell upon the patricians, who offered themselves as candidates. Thus the people, who were still clamorous for innovation, could not avail themselves of any concessions they gained from their opponents, for want of unanimity and prudence.

A. C. 443. The new magistrates were called Military Tribunes; they were at first but three, afterwards they were increased to four, and at length to six. They possessed the power and the ensigns of consuls, yet their authority being divided among a number, each singly was of less consequence. The first that were chosen only continued in their office about three months, the augurs having found something amiss in the ceremonies of their election; and in a short time the new institution was laid aside.

On this, the consuls once more came into office; and, in order to lighten the weight of business which they were obliged to sustain, a new office was created, namely, that of Censor, to be chosen every fifth year. Their business was to take an estimate of the number and estates of the people, and to distribute them into their pro-

per classes; to inspect into the lives and manners of their fellow-citizens; to cashier senators for misconduct; to dismount knights, and to degrade plebeians into an inferior tribe, in case of misdemeanour. The first two censors were Papirius and Sempronius, both patricians; and from this order they continued to be elected for nearly an hundred years.

This creation served to restore peace for some time among the orders; and a triumph gained over the Volscians, by Geganius the consul, added to the universal satisfaction that reigned among the people. As it was observed of the Greeks, that a victory gained at the Olympic games raised the conqueror to the highest pitch of human splendour, so it might be said of the Romans, that a triumph was the greatest honour of which they had any idea. For this their generals fought, not less than for the benefit of the state; and the people also, when entertained with such spectacles, forgot their private distresses in an empty notion of their country's glory.

The calm which succeeded the nomination of censors, was however of short continuance; for some time after, a famine pressing hard upon the poor, the usual complaints against the rich were renewed; and these, as before, proving ineffectual, produced new seditions. The consuls were accused of neglect, in not having stored proper quantities of corn; they, however, disregarded the censures which they were conscious they did not deserve, content with exerting all their care in attempts to supply the pressing necessities. But though they did all that could be expected from active magistrates, in provid-

ing and distributing provisions to the poor; yet Spurius Mælius, a rich knight, who had monopolised all the corn of Tuscany, by far outshone them in liberality. This demagogue, who had long beheld the convulsions of the state with a malignant pleasure, was inflamed with a secret desire of becoming powerful by its contentions: he therefore distributed corn with the utmost liberality among the poorer sort each day, till at last his house became the asylum of all such as wished to exchange a life of labour for one of lazy dependence. When he had thus seduced a sufficient number of partisans, he procured large quantities of arms to be purchased and brought into his house by night, and formed a plan of conspiracy, by which he was to be made commander; while some of the tribunes, whom he had found means to corrupt, were to act under him in usurping the liberties of his country. Minucius, however, who at that time was appointed to the care of providing for the people, early discovered the plot that was thus formed against the public freedom; and informing the senate of the particulars, they immediately formed a resolution of creating a dictator, who should have the power of quelling the conspiracy, without appealing to the people: Cincinnatus, who was now eighty years old, but still possessing all the intrepid courage of youth, was chosen once more to rescue his country from impending danger, which he accomplished with his usual felicity. He began by summoning Mælius to appear; who being, as he thought, sufficiently supported by the multitude, refused to obey. Cincinnatus next sent Ahala, his master of the horse, to force him; who pressing

Mælius to follow him to the dictator's tribunal, upon his refusal, Ahala killed him upon the spot. The dictator applauded the resolution of his deputy, as being justified by necessity, and commanded the conspirator's goods to be sold, his house to be demolished, and his stores to be distributed among the people.

Though the treasonable designs of Mælius seem to have been incontrovertible, the tribunes of the people were much enraged at his death; and in order to shew their resentment to the senate at the next election, instead of consuls, insisted upon restoring their military tribunes. With this requisition the senate were obliged to comply; but, though the plebeians had a right of being taken into the office, three patricians, as in the former election, were again chosen. The next year, however, the government returned to its ancient channel, under the consular power.

Such an endless succession of intestine discords gave confidence to the enemies of Rome. The Veians and the Volscians proceeded with their customary incursions, and even the allies of Rome began to waver in their allegiance. Fidenæ, an ancient colony belonging to the Romans, revolted to Tolumnius, king of the Veians; and still more to aggravate their crime, they murdered the ambassadors who were sent to complain of their infidelity. To punish this conduct with signal vengeance, a dictator was appointed, and the choice fell upon Mamercus Æmilius. A victory was obtained over the Veii; the king of their nation was slain; and Æmilius marched back to Rome, with all the ensigns of triumph, enriched by the spoils of a king.

In such a state of internal distraction, however, it appears as if the senate and consuls could carry on no business by their own authority alone, since we find them the year following creating another dictator, to oppose a threatened confederacy of the Veian nations. Servilius Priscus was chosen to this high office: and the year succeeding we read of Æmilius, the former dictator, being re-elected. Having, it seems, no employment abroad, he was resolved to do something at home; and accordingly was the means of altering the continuance of the censorship from its original period of duration, to one year and a half; for which the censors soon after fined and degraded him, upon laying down his office. This conduct of theirs, on the other hand, enraged the people, and, instead of consuls, military tribunes were the next time chosen. In about four years after, consuls were introduced again, and upon a threatened invasion of the Æqui, a dictator, Posthumius Tubero, was created, who closed his office with a triumph. Four years after this, the fluctuation of councils occasioned an establishment of military tribunes again, and their want of success in war obliged the people to create Æmilius, for the third time, dictator, who merited another triumph. For two years after this, military tribunes continued; then consuls, and then tribunes again: thus the government, without steadiness or equipoise, continued to fluctuate between the different orders, for more than fifteen years; during which time, there was but little important transacted, either abroad or at home: the senate seemed to have lost all its energy, and the people all their military virtue.

The former, who were possessed of the riches of the state, appeared indifferent about the concession of any privileges, if they could ward off an Agrarian law; and the people wasted so much time in attending the harangues of their tribunes, that they fell into habitual poverty, discontent, and turbulence. Whenever the approach of an enemy was talked of, the danger was so magnified, either by the fears or the real weakness of the state, that nothing but that desperate alternative of choosing a dictator could be found to oppose it. So that in a period of twenty years, we find the people above ten times giving up their liberty, their possessions, and their lives, to one of their fellow-citizens; and only indebted for their safety to his virtues. These absolute magistrates, it is true, in some measure restored discipline to the army, and increased the territories of the state; but it was purchasing conquest too dear to give up all that was valuable in life for its acquisition. The ill effects indeed of their absolute authority were not discovered till many years after; at this period, the senate seemed pleased with electing a magistrate out of their own body, who could intimidate the people: the multitude, on the other hand, were eager to follow and obey one who generally led them to conquest and plunder; for the dictators usually divided the spoils of the conquered towns among them, in order to increase their own popularity. Thus the plunder of Anxur, a city taken from the Volscians, seemed to diffuse a new spirit amongst them; which, however, continued no longer than until their necessities called for a new supply.

It would be useless to detail the discordant prin-

ciples of factious spirits, and their petty movements, which at this uninteresting and gloomy period agitated the republic. Suffice it to observe, that factions became every day stronger, and the government weaker; the tribunes of the people still augmenting the breach between the orders of the commonwealth, and calling their licentiousness liberty.* At length, however, the senate hit upon an expedient, which served greatly to increase their own power, and at the same time was highly pleasing to the people, though it evinced how greatly the Romans were fallen from their former virtues. The citizens, who went to the field, had hitherto fought their country's battles without pay; they were husbandmen and soldiers; the same hands that brandished the sword at one season, were seen holding the plough in another; and they were obliged to furnish not only their own arms, but their own provisions during the campaign. In these difficulties and deprivations, however, they cheerfully acquiesced, as the hopes of plunder, and the honours of returning in triumph, were considered as an ample compensation. Nevertheless, it sometimes fell out, that if the campaign was of long continuance, their little farms remained untilled, and they themselves were reduced the next season to extreme indigence. Hence they were obliged to incur debts, and hence proceeded that various train of extortions, usuries, and petty cruelties, which the creditors made use of to oppress their debtors. To re-

* During these commotions the Roman army first embrued their hands in the blood of their general, to whom they had hitherto, in all changes, shewn a high degree of personal respect. The victim we allude to was Posthumius.

medy, or rather to mitigate, those evils, the senate unanimously came to a resolution of paying the soldiery out of the treasury; and for this purpose they laid on a new tax, from which none of the citizens were to be exempted. This regulation, in some measure, gave a new turn to the Roman mode of warfare; as what might before have been called incursions, were now become regular protracted campaigns. The senate also had no longer occasion to importune the influence of the tribunes, in order to raise an army, as the people would gladly enlist, since they were sure of their reward. Nothing therefore could exceed their joy upon this occasion; they surrounded the senate-house with acclamations; they offered to follow the conscript fathers wherever they should lead them, and promised that their murmurs should now be lost in gratitude. The soldiers, indeed, became more supple and more submissive; but they lost much of their patriotism and independence.

The senate, thus reconciled to the people, and now become masters of an army that they could keep in the field as long as they thought proper, resolved to take signal vengeance on the Veians, and besiege their capital city, though the attempt should endanger their own. The city of Veii had long been a flourishing, strong, and formidable place; it was seated upon a rock, and furnished with resolute and numerous defenders. It had lately changed its form of government, from a republican to a regal; and such a change being disliked by the allies of this state, contributed, in some measure to their tamely suffering it to be surrounded by the Roman army. The Romans, indeed, A. C. 403.

had every reason to inspire them with resentment. The Veians had long been the rivals of Rome; they had ever taken the opportunity of its internal distresses to ravage its territories, and had even treated its ambassadors, sent to complain of these injuries, with outrage. It was therefore determined, that Veii, whatever it should cost, was to fall; and the Romans accordingly sat regularly down before it, prepared for a long and painful resistance. The strength of the place may be inferred from the continuance of the siege, which lasted for ten years; during which time, the army continued encamped round it, lying, in winter, under tents, made of the skins of beasts, and in summer driving on the operations of the attack. Various was the success, and many were the commanders that directed the siege; sometimes all the besiegers' works were destroyed, and many of their men cut off by sallies from the town; sometimes they were annoyed by an army of Veians, who attempted to bring assistance from without. A siege so bloody seemed to threaten depopulation to Rome itself, by draining its forces continually away; so that a law was obliged to be made, for all the bachelors to marry the widows of the soldiers who were slain. The tribunes of the people also did not fail to render this great undertaking still more arduous by their continual murmurs and artifice, in raising dissensions at home. They blamed the commanders, and prohibited the taxes from being levied, which were to pay the soldiery; and, still more to perplex the senate, they began to revive the subject of the Agrarian law.

Unceasing dissension among the Romans, and

so much obstinacy on the part of the Veii, began at last to depress the sanguine expectations of the senate: they trembled for the consequences of so much blood and treasure expended in an ineffectual siege; but anxious to strike one vigorous blow before relinquishing their favourite aim, they created Furius Camillus dictator; and to him was entrusted the sole power of conducting the long-protracted war. Camillus, without intrigue or any solicitation, had raised himself to the first eminence in the state: he had been made one of the censors some time before, and was considered as the head of that office; he was afterwards made a military tribune, and had in this post gained several advantages over the enemy. In short, his courage and abilities had been amply tried, and proved him to be most worthy to serve his country on this pressing occasion. Upon his appointment, numbers of the people flocked to his standard, confident of success under so experienced a commander. He accordingly drew out his forces against the enemy, and overthrew the Falisci, one of the little powers confederated against Rome, with great slaughter: the Capenates also shared the same fate, and were obliged to beg protection: wherefore, being thus master of the field, he directed all his force to the vigorous prosecution of the siege of Veii. Conscious, however, that he was unable to take the city by storm, he secretly wrought a mine into it, with [illegible] labour, which opened into the midst of the citadel. Being now assured of success, and finding the city incapable of relief, he sent to the senate, desiring that all who chose to share in the plunder of Veii, should immediately repair to the army.

Then giving his men directions how to enter at the breach, the city was instantly filled with his legions, to the amazement and confusion of the besieged, who, but a moment before, had reposed in perfect security. Thus, like a second Troy, was the city of Veii taken, after a ten-years' siege, and with its spoils enriched the conquerors; while Camillus, transported with the honour of having subdued the rival of his native city, triumphed after the manner of the kings of Rome, having his chariot drawn by four milk-white horses;—a degree of splendid ostentation which disgusted the majority of the spectators, and gave them an unfavourable impression of the general's moderation.

Soon after, however, the people pretended to find still greater cause of offence. Their tribunes had proposed that the senate and people should divide into two parts; whereof, one should continue in Rome, the other should settle at Veii, their new conquest. This Camillus earnestly opposed, and diverted the multitude from their intention, though it procured their anger.* Nor were they less displeased with him, when they found themselves obliged to restore the tenth part of the plunder they had taken, which, before the siege, he had devoted to Apollo. The soldiers, for the most part, had spent theirs long since; so that they must have been incapable of refunding, had not the Roman women parted with their golden ornaments, to the amount of eight talents of gold, to supply them.

* In this Camillus acted like a sound politician, however unpopular it might be. A rivalry would naturally have arisen between two equal towns, and the consequences might have been fatal to both.

For this generous action, they were decreed the privilege of having funeral orations pronounced over their bodies, which had not been allowed to women before.

Camillus, however, was rendered by this step more unpopular than ever; but he consoled himself with the reflection that he had discharged a sacred duty; and such was the respect paid to his talents, that, notwithstanding this general dislike, he was, some time after, created one of the military tribunes, and sent against the Falisci, who had been making their accustomed incursions upon the Roman territories. His usual good fortune attended him in this expedition; he routed their army, and besieged their capital city Falerii, which threatened a long and vigorous resistance. The reduction of this little place, however, would scarcely have deserved recording, had it not been for an action of the Roman general, that has done him more credit with posterity, than all his triumphs united. A schoolmaster, entrusted with the care of the children belonging to the principal men of the city, found means to decoy them into the Roman camp, and offered to put them into the hands of Camillus, as the surest means of inducing the citizens to a speedy surrender. "With these "(said the unprincipled tutor,) I deliver you the "town, and I prefer the friendship of the Ro- "mans to the post I hold in Falerii." The general, struck with the treachery of a wretch, whose duty it was to protect innocence, for some time regarded him with a stern air, but at last finding words, "Execrable villain (cried the "noble Roman,) offer thy abominable proposals "to creatures like thyself, and not to me; what

"though we be the enemies of your city, yet "there are natural ties that bind all mankind, "which should never be broken. There are "duties required from us in war, as well as in "peace; we fight not against an age of inno- "cence, but against men; men who have used "us ill indeed, but yet, whose crimes are virtues, "when compared to thine. Against such base "arts, let it be my duty to use only Roman arts, "the arts of valour and of arms." So saying, he immediately ordered him to be stripped, his hands tied behind him, and, in that ignominious manner, to be whipped into the town by his own scholars. This generous behaviour in Camillus effected more than his arms could have done; the magistrates of the town, who had sworn to bury themselves in its ruins, immediately submitted to the senate, leaving to Camillus the conditions of their surrender, who only fined them a sum of money to satisfy his army, and received them under the protection and into the alliance of Rome.

But the veneration which the virtues of Camillus had excited abroad, seemed but little adapted to gain the respect of the turbulent tribunes at home, as they daily raised some fresh accusation against him. To the charge of being an opposer of their intended migration from Rome to Veii, they added that of his having concealed a part of the plunder of that city, particularly two brazen gates for his own use; and appointed him a day on which to appear before the people. Camillus, finding the multitude exasperated against him, and detesting their ingratitude, resolved not to submit to the ignominy of a trial; but embracing his wife

and children, prepared to depart from Rome. He had already passed as far as one of the gates, unattended, on his way, and unlamented. There he could suppress his indignation no longer; but turning his face to the capitol, and lifting up his hands to heaven, intreated all the gods, that his country might one day be sensible of their injustice and ingratitude. He then hastened on and took refuge at Ardea, a town at a little distance from Rome, where he afterwards learned that he had been fined fifteen hundred asses, by the tribunes at Rome.

The retreat of Camillus gave infinite pleasure to his enemies; but they soon had reason to repent their injustice, and to wish for the assistance of one who alone was able to protect his country from ruin. For just at this crisis a more terrible and redoubtable enemy began to make his appearance, than the Romans had ever yet encountered. The Gauls, a barbarous nation, had about two centuries before made an irruption from beyond the Alps, and settled in the northern provinces of Italy.* They had been

* Love and wine are said to have first led the Gauls into Italy. Aruns, one of the principal citizens of Clusium, a city of Etruria, had a pupil who pleased his wife; she in her turn charmed the pupil, though the guardian had little reason to be equally pleased with the good understanding between them. He complained to the senate of Clusium, who paid not any attention to his tale. The injured husband then passed the Alps, and produced before the Gauls not his love-sick complaints, but some good wine, with the taste of which he made them acquainted; and praising the country which produced this excellent beverage, raised in them a desire of knowing it. From the Seine, the Marne, and the Yonne, they set out to satisfy their appetites, and to seek a more indulgent climate.

allured to pass their native barriers, by the deliciousness of the wines, and the softness of the climate; and wherever they came, they dispossessed the original inhabitants. They were men of superior courage, extraordinary stature, wild in their aspect, ferocious in their manners, and prone to change. Not content with having subdued and peopled most of the northern parts of Italy, they were still inviting others from their native deserts beyond the Alps, to come over, and spread terror and desolation in the fruitful regions of this newly-discovered country. A body of these, wild from their original habitations, were now besieging Clusium, a city of Etruria, under the conduct of Brennus, their king. The Clusians, frighted at their numbers, and still more at their savage appearance, entreated the assistance, or at least the mediation, of the Romans. The senate, who long had made it a maxim never to refuse succour to their suppliants, were anxious, however, in the first instance, to send ambassadors to the Gauls, to dissuade them from their enterprise, and to shew the injustice of their irruption. Accordingly, three young senators were chosen out of the family of the Fabii, to manage the commission, who seemed better fitted for the field than the cabinet. Brennus received them with a degree of complaisance, that argued little of the barbarian; and, desiring to know the business of their embassy, was answered, according to their instructions, that it was not customary in Italy to make war, but upon just grounds of provocation; and that they desired to know, what offence the citizens of Clusium had given to the king of the Gauls? To this

Brennus sternly replied, that the rights of the valiant lay in their swords; that the Romans could institute no other title to the many cities they had conquered; and that he had particular reasons of resentment against the people of Clusium, as they refused to part with those lands which they had neither hands to till, nor inhabitants to occupy. The Roman ambassadors, who were little used to hear the language of independence, for a while dissembled their resentment at this haughty reply: but, upon entering the besieged city, instead of acting as ambassadors, they forgot their sacred characters, and headed the citizens in a sally against the besiegers. In this combat, Fabius Ambustus killed a Gaul with his own hand, but was discovered while he was despoiling him of his armour. A conduct so unjust and indecorous, excited the resentment of Brennus, who having made his complaint by a herald to the senate, and finding no redress, immediately broke up the siege of Clusium, and marched his conquering army to attack Rome herself.

The countries through which the Gauls passed, in their rapid progress, made little resistance; the natives being terrified at their vast numbers, the fierceness of their natures, and their dreadful preparations for war. But the rage and impetuosity of this ferocious people were directed solely against Rome. They went on without doing the least intentional injury in their march, breathing vengeance only against the Romans, whom they considered alone as aggressors.

The Roman army at this conjuncture was under the command of six military tribunes:

the number of their forces, which amounted to forty thousand men, was nearly equal to those of Brennus; but the soldiers were less obedient, and the generals had not confidence in each other, so as to unite for their mutual safety. The two armies met near the river Allia, eleven miles from the city, both equally confident of victory, both equally disdaining to survive a defeat. The leaders on either side put their forces in array; the Romans, to prevent being surrounded, extended their lines, and placed the best legions in the wings of their army. The Gauls, on the other hand, by a happy disposition, had their choice men in the middle; and with these they made the most desperate attack. The centre of the Roman army, unable to withstand the impetuosity of the charge, quickly gave way; while the two wings saw themselves in a manner divided from each other, and their centre occupied by the enemy. They made, for a time, a feeble attempt to unite; but finding it impracticable, a rout ensued, in which the Romans seemed to have lost all power, not only of resistance, but of flight. Nothing but terror and confusion reigned through their broken ranks; the wretched remains of their army were either drowned in attempting to cross the Tiber, or hastened to take refuge in Veii, while only a few of them returned to Rome, with the dreadful intelligence of their overthrow. All hopes of resistance in the field being now over, the remaining inhabitants that were able to bear arms, threw themselves into the capitol, which they fortified, in order to hold out a siege. The rest of the people, a poor and forlorn multitude of old men, women, and children, endeavour-

ed to hide themselves in some of the neighbouring towns, or resolved to await the conqueror's fury, and lie in death under the ruins of their native city. But more particularly the ancient senators and priests, struck with a religious enthusiasm on this occasion, resolved to devote their lives to atone for the crimes of the people, and, habited in their robes of ceremony, placed themselves in the forum, on their ivory chairs. The Gauls, in the mean time, were giving a loose to their triumph, in sharing and enjoying the plunder of the enemies' camp.

Had they indeed immediately marched to Rome upon gaining the victory, the capitol itself would have yielded, but they continued two days feasting upon the field of battle, and, with barbarous pleasure, exulting amidst their slaughtered foes. On the third day after the victory, the facility of which amazed the Gauls themselves, Brennus appeared with all his forces before the city. He was at first much surprised to find the gates wide open to receive him, and the walls defenceless; so that he began to impute the unguarded situation of the place to a stratagem of the Romans. After proper precautions, however, he entered the city, and marching into the forum, there beheld the ancient senators sitting in their order, observing a profound silence, unmoved and undaunted. The splendid habits, the majestic gravity, and the venerable looks of these old men, who had all borne the highest offices of the state, awed the barbarous enemy into reverence; they took them to be the tutelar deities of the place, and began to offer blind adoration, till one, more forward than the rest, put forth his hand to

A. C. 383. U. C. 365.

stroke the beard of Papyrius, who had once enjoyed the dignity of dictator. An insult so gross the noble Roman could not endure, but lifting up his ivory sceptre, struck the savage to the ground. This seemed as a signal for general slaughter; Papyrius fell first, and all the rest shared his fate, without mercy or distinction. Thus the fierce invaders pursued their slaughter for three days successively, sparing neither sex nor age, and then setting fire to the city, in a short time every house was reduced to a heap of ashes, and Rome became nearly a waste.

At this crisis all the hopes of the Romans were placed in the capitol: every thing without that fortress was but an extensive scene of misery, desolation, and despair. All the magnificent buildings, which were once the pride of Rome, were now become a heap of shapeless ruins. Nor was it the city alone that felt the utmost rage of the conquerors, but all the neighbouring towns that were accessible to their incursions, shared the same fate, and were burnt without distinction. Still, however, the citadel remained; and Brennus tried every art in vain to reduce it. He first ineffectually summoned the garrison, with threats, to surrender; he then resolved to besiege it in form, and encompassed it with his army. Nevertheless, the Romans repelled his attempts with great bravery; for despair had now supplied them with that perseverance and vigour, which had they shewn more early, would have saved them from this catastrophe.

The siege had continued for above six months, the provisions of the garrison were almost exhausted, their numbers lessened with continual

fatigue, and nothing seemed to remain but death, or submission to the mercy of the conquerors, which was dreaded more even than death itself. In short, they had resolved upon dying, when they were revived from their despondence, by the appearance of a man whom they saw climbing up the rock, and whom they knew, upon his arrival, to be a messenger from their friends without. This person's name was Pontius Comminus, a young plebeian, who had swam across the Tiber by night, passed through the enemy's guards; and, with extreme fatigue, climbed up the capitoline rock, with tidings to the besieged, that Camillus, their expatriated dictator, was levying an army for their relief; that the citizens of Ardea and Veii had armed in his favour, and had made him their general; and that he only waited his country's confirmation of their choice, to enter the field and give the barbarians battle.

The Romans were struck with a mixture of rapture and abashment, to find that the man whom they had injuriously spurned from the city, was now, in its desperate state, ready to become its defender. They instantly chose him for their Dictator, with an enthusiasm which his virtues deserved, and prepared to sustain the siege with recruited vigour. Thus the messenger, having received his answer and proper instructions, had the good fortune to return to Camillus, though not without encountering a variety of perils.

Meanwhile Brennus carried on the siege with extreme ardour. He hoped speedily to starve the garrison into a capitulation; but they, sensible of his intent, although in actual want,

caused several loaves to be thrown into his camp, to convince him of the futility of his expectations. Frustrated in this aim, his hopes were again revived, when some of his soldiers came to inform him, that they had discovered traces of footsteps which led up to the rock, and by which they supposed the capitol might be surprised. Accordingly, a chosen body of his men were ordered by night upon this dangerous service, which they with great labour and difficulty almost effected: they had got indeed upon the very wall; the Roman sentinel was fast asleep; their dogs within gave no alarm, and all promised an instant victory; when the garrison were awakened by the gabbling of some sacred geese, that had been kept in the temple of Juno. The besieged instantly perceived the imminence of their danger, and each snatching the weapon he could instantly find, ran to oppose the assailants. Manlius, a patrician of acknowledged bravery, was the first who exerted all his strength, and inspired courage by his example. He boldly mounted the rampart, and at one effort threw two Gauls headlong down the precipice: others hastened to his assistance, and the walls were cleared of the enemy, almost in an instant.

After this failure, the hopes of the barbarians began to decline, and Brennus seems to have wished for an opportunity of raising the siege with credit. His soldiers often held conferences with the besieged, while upon duty, and the proposals for an accommodation were anxiously desired by the common men, before the chiefs thought of negociation. At length the commanders on both sides came to an agreement,

that the Gauls should immediately quit the city and territories of Rome, upon being paid a thousand pounds weight of gold. This agreement being confirmed by oath on either side, the gold was brought forth; but upon weighing, the Gauls attempted fraudulently to kick the beam, of which the Romans complaining, Brennus insultingly cast his sword and belt into the scale, crying out, that the only portion of the vanquished was to suffer. By this reply, the Romans saw that they were at the victor's mercy; and knew it was in vain to expostulate against any conditions he should be pleased to impose. At this very juncture, however, and while they were thus debating upon the ransom, it was rumoured that Camillus, the dictator, was at the head of a large army, hastening to their relief, and entering the gates of Rome. Camillus actually appeared soon after, and entering the place of controversy, with the air of one who was resolved not to suffer imposition, demanded the cause of the contest; of which being informed, he ordered the gold to be taken and carried back to the capitol: "For it has ever "(cried he,) been the manner with us Romans, to "ransom our country, not with gold, but with "iron; it is I only that am to make peace, as "being the dictator of Rome, and my sword "alone shall purchase it." The enraged Gauls ran to arms: a battle ensued; and so total was the defeat of Brennus and his followers, that they soon wholly disappeared from Italy, leaving no traces but those of their ravages behind them.

The enemy was indeed annihilated, but Rome continued a heap of ruins; no part of its former magnificence remained, except the capitol; and

the greatest number of its former inhabitants had gone to take refuge in Veii. The tribunes of the people, therefore, those men unheard of but in the calm of peace, began once more to urge for the removal of the poor remains of Rome to Veii, where they might have houses to shelter, and walls to defend them. On this occasion, Camillus, steady to his former principles, attempted to appease them, with all the arts of persuasion; observing, that it was unworthy of them, both as Romans and as men, to desert the venerable seats of their ancestors, where they had been encouraged by repeated marks of divine approbation, to remove to and inhabit a city which they themselves had conquered, and which wanted even the good fortune of defending itself. By these and such-like remonstrances, he prevailed upon the people to relinquish their design of abandoning Rome; and to set about rebuilding its ruined edifices. Like a phœnix, it quickly sprung from its ashes; but certainly with diminished beauty and regularity.

These successes of Camillus were, in some measure, but preparatory to future victories. He was made dictator the next year, upon an irruption of the neighbouring states, and gained another triumph; and about three years after, overthrew the Latins, who had revolted from Rome, after a submission of more than a hundred years. Such a train of good fortune served to render Camillus almost absolute in Rome; his moderation and patriotism, however, prevented his making an improper use of his power, unless his conduct to Manlius Capitolinus may be regarded as an act of undue severity.

The bravery of Manlius in defending the capitol, and saving the remains of Rome, has already been recorded. For this the people were by no means ungrateful, having built him a house near the place where his valour was so conspicuous, and having appointed him a public fund for his support. But his ambition was not to be satisfied with such trifling rewards; he aspired not only as being equal to Camillus, but to be sovereign of Rome. With this view, he laboured to ingratiate himself with the populace, paid their debts, and railed at the other patricians, whom he styled their oppressors. The senate was not ignorant of his discourses or his designs; and to counteract them, created Cornelius Cossus dictator, under pretext of sending him against the Volscians, who had made some successful irruptions into the Roman territories; but in reality with a view to curb the inordinate ambition of Manlius. The dictator soon finished his expedition against the foreign enemy by a victory; and upon his return, called Manlius to an account, and put him in prison, for his conduct at home. Manlius, however, was too much the darling of the populace, to be affected by the power of Cossus; and his partisans were too loud in their clamours, to permit any injury to be done to their favourite. Cossus was obliged to lay down his office, and Manlius was carried from confinement, in triumph through the city. This success only served to inflame his ambition. He began now to talk of a division of the lands among the people; insinuated that there should be no distinctions in the state; and to give weight to his discourses, he always appeared at the head of a

large body of the dregs of the people, whom his largesses had made his followers. The city being thus filled with sedition and clamour, the senate were obliged to have recourse to another expedient, and to oppose the power of Camillus to that of the demagogue. Camillus accordingly being made one of the military tribunes, appointed Manlius a day to answer for his life. The place in which he was tried was near the capitol, where, being accused of sedition, and of aspiring at sovereignty, he only turned his eyes, and, pointing thither, put them in mind of what he had achieved for his country on the spot. The multitude, whose compassion or whose justice seldom springs from rational motives, refused to condemn him, while he pleaded in sight of the capitol; but when he was brought to the Peteline grove, from whence the capitol was no longer to be seen, they condemned him to be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. Thus, the place which had been the theatre of his glory, became that of his punishment and his infamy. His house, in which his conspiracies had been secretly carried on, was ordered to be rased to the ground; and his family were forbidden ever after to assume the name of Manlius.

A. C. 373. In a short time the affection and gratitude of the people returned for Manlius, and while his death was lamented, it in some measure renewed the murmurs of the tribunes and the people against Camillus, whom they considered as the chief instrument of his prosecution. Unwilling to suppose themselves guilty of a severity to which they had given their consent, they began to turn their re-

sentment upon the most worthy man of the state, as if to aggravate their baseness. However, such was the fate of the Roman republic, that Camillus never wanted a fortunate opportunity of bringing the multitude back to their veneration for his talents. Being chosen military tribune a sixth time, though much against his consent, he, with his colleague Lucius Furius, marched against the Volscians: the latter, being a young man, was all eagerness to engage the enemy; the other, tempering his courage with moderation, wished to wait for a favourable opportunity. This backwardness in Camillus for the attack, Furius ascribed to the timidity of old age, or to the envy of a man unwilling to admit a partner in his fame; he, therefore, seized the opportunity, when Camillus was sick, and obliged to keep his bed, to lead on his forces to battle. But he too soon perceived the temerity of his own conduct, and the wisdom of Camillus's advice; his army was almost defeated, and an universal flight was about to ensue, when the veteran general roused from his bed, and being helped on horseback, old and infirm as he was, put himself at the head of a small body of men, opposing those that fled, and bringing them furiously up against their pursuers. "Is this (cried "he) the victory you promised yourselves? "There is no shelter for you here. Return!" The intrepidity of one man spread itself through the whole army; his soldiers quickly rallied, resolving never to forsake a general under whom they had so often fought victoriously, and whom they considered as invincible. The enemy being thus repulsed, the combat was renewed the day following, in which they were totally de-

feated; and Camillus returned to Rome once more laden with the spoils of conquest. But no successes abroad could allay the dissensions at home. The debtors began to complain of their hardships with the same importunate clamours as formerly. The inhabitants of Præneste, a town belonging to the Latins, also made incursions upon the Roman territories. To quell these internal and external grievances, Quintius Cincinnatus was chosen dictator, who took Præneste by surrender, and returned in triumph with the statue of Jupiter Imperator, which he placed in the capitol; a circumstance which, though of little seeming importance in itself, appears first to have excited the desire of extending conquest among the Romans.

Two years after this, the contests between the patricians and tribunes broke out with more than usual violence. Many of the plebeians, during the distresses of their country, had either by accident or by courage acquired large fortunes, and this produced a desire of sharing, not only in the government, but in the honours of Rome. The people, as has already been noticed, had aspired at the consulship; and the senate, by a trifling subterfuge granted them military tribunes, who were possessed of consular power: but as this was insufficient to satisfy their pride, the tribunes of the people renewed their claims; while the poorer part of the citizens, only intent upon acquiring the necessaries of life, and but little affected with its honours, were calm spectators of the contest.

About this period, an incident in private life, fomented by female jealousy and ambition, had a very considerable influence on the public trans-

actions. Fabius Ambustus, a tribune of the people, had two daughters, one of whom he married to a patrician, the other to a plebeian. The plebeian's wife coming one day to visit her sister, was struck with envy at the honours which the latter received, in consequence of her patrician alliance, and from envying, fell into a settled melancholy. Her father and husband, for a long time, conjured her to tell them the reasons of this alteration in her disposition, which she at last unwillingly revealed. Her weak but affectionate father, though himself a patrician, in order to comfort his daughter, was prevailed upon to give her assurances, that he would instantly use every means in his power, to make her an equal sharer in the dignities of the state with her sister; and not to be deficient in his promise, from that time consulted with her husband about preferring a law, for electing one consul out of the body of the people. Their first step was to get the husband chosen a tribune of the people; and then, in order to ingratiate themselves with the multitude, they proposed, with the same law which made pretensions to the consulship, that the Agrarian law, for the equal partition of lands, should also be passed; a measure which, they knew, must give popularity to their ambition, while it distracted the higher orders.

The contests in consequence of this proposal were so violent, that for five years no supreme magistrate was chosen; the tribunes of the people and ædiles governing all the time; if that might be called government, which was little better than anarchy and confusion. Military tribunes then came into power; and after two years were elapsed under their government, and

every thing was tending to ruin, the illustrious Camillus was chosen dictator, who finding the people resolute in their designs of choosing a plebeian consul immediately, laid down his office. Upon his resignation, another dictator was chosen by the senate; but this high office had been so often created when there was no absolute necessity, that its authority began to decline, while that of the tribunes rose upon its ruins. The dictator's name was Publius Manlius: he seems to have done little remarkable, if we except his creating Licinius Stolo his master of the horse, who was the first plebeian, possessed of that dignity. This Stolo, by his influence, obtained a law to be passed, that no man should possess above five hundred acres of land.* This was greatly disadvantageous to the patricians; but what shews that the principles of demagogues in all ages are the same, Stolo was soon after found desirous of privately possessing more land than by his own law he was entitled to share; and, in consequence thereof, was punished by his own edict!

In this manner the flame of contention being kindled between the two orders of the state, they carried on their resentments with acrimony and perseverance, while foreign enemies only served to allay, but not to extinguish, their animosity. Another invasion of the Gauls, to oppose whom Camillus was a fifth time made dictator, for a time repressed and gave a transient pause to these internal commotions. The terror which this people had

* Nothing can more clearly evince an ignorance in the science of politics, than the mischievous, though popular plan of establishing a maximum, to whatever it may relate.

inspired was then so great among the Romans, that a law was made to excuse priests from all wars, "unless in an invasion of the Gauls." However, Camillus taught his countrymen the way to subdue them. Being sensible that the chief weapon of this fierce people was the sword, he furnished his soldiers with iron helmets, and had their targets bound round with brass: and, at the same time, taught them the art of using their own arms, to the best advantage. By these means he rendered the swords of the Gauls so unserviceable, that giving them battle near the river Anio, he gained an easy victory; so that the Romans now began to despise the Gauls as much as they had dreaded them before.

A victory so important and so grateful, it might be supposed, would have rendered Camillus absolute at Rome. But whether from his advanced age, his indifference to public affairs, or the increasing power of the tribunes, he had now lost much of the authority he once possessed. The law for creating a plebeian consul being still agitated with increasing animosity, the senate, as usual, strongly opposed it, and forbade Camillus to lay down his dictatorship; in hopes that, under the influence of his power, and the exertion of his talents, they might be able to support their honour against the pretensions of the people. But while Camillus was dispatching public affairs, the tribunes took the opportunity of ordering, that the votes of the people should be taken upon their favourite measure. The dictator opposing this attempt with all his might, they sent a lictor to arrest and conduct him to prison. Such a mark of indignity offered to a magistrate who had been

hitherto held sacred, and particularly to a man who had deserved so well, raised a greater commotion than had yet been seen in Rome. The patricians, who surrounded the dictator, boldly repulsed the lictors, while the people who stood below, with equal fury, cried out, "Down with "him, down with him."

In this universal uproar, Camillus was the only person that seemed unmoved. He entreated that the tribunes would give a moment's pause to their attempts; then calling the senators round him, and conducting them to a neighbouring temple, he implored them to give peace to the city by their compliance; then turning his face towards the capitol, as if to take a last farewel of all future endeavours to serve his country, he vowed to build a temple to Concord, in case he saw peace restored to the people. In consequence of his advice, a law was made that one of the consuls, for the future, should be chosen from the plebeians.

A. C. 352. U. C. 396. Sextus, who had long been a turbulent tribune of the people, was the first plebeian that was raised to this high dignity. After him succeeded Licinius, the husband of her whom we have already mentioned as languishing with a desire of rank. There was also at this time two new magistrates created from the patricians; namely, a prætor,* who was to supply the place of the consul in the absence of that magistrate, and to administer justice to the people, in civil and

* On the first appointment of prætor he was considered as the second magistrate in the republic; but his power declined when he participated it with several.

criminal causes; an officer so necessary to the state, that the number of prætors was, in after ages, increased to sixteen. There were also two curule ædiles created, officers so called to distinguish them from the ædiles of the people, as the former had the chair and other ensigns of magistracy attending them, which the latter were denied. The chief business of these was, to have the care of the public games, and of the corn and provisions taken in war.

Thus Camillus, having spent a long life in the service of his country, throughout which he had shewn a courage not to be shaken by danger, and a patriotism which even the ingratitude of the people could not alter, resigned the dictatorship, and built a temple to Concord, according to his vow, which, however, he survived but two years, dying of the plague, in the eighty-second year of his age, and leaving behind him the reputation of being the second founder of Rome. Of this great man it was said, that he never gave a battle which was not followed by a complete victory; that he never besieged a town without taking it; and that he never drew forth an army, but he brought it back laden with spoils, and covered with glory. He often owed his success as much to his personal courage as to the valour of his soldiers; and no general better understood how to rekindle the fainting ardour, or to confirm the wavering resolution of his army.

But it was in vain that measures were taken to insure a lasting reconciliation between the patricians and the people; their disputes revived upon every occasion; for, whenever new magistrates were to be chosen, each party trying all their interest to have the election in their own

favour, hesitated not to use both fraud and violence to compass their desires. Thus the senate suspended all measures against the foreign enemy, lest the plebeian consul, newly elected, should share the glory. Thus also the people soon after obtained by their complaints, to have the curule ædiles chosen, every second year, out of their own body, and even at length prevailed to have Marcus Rutilius, a plebeian, made dictator. To balance this, the patricians wrested the consulship from the people, after they had enjoyed it ten years; and four years after they were obliged to restore it. Even the election of a censor produced equal animosity; and after many contests, the plebeian, who had been dictator, was elected to the office, against the united efforts of the patricians.

During these contests at home, the Romans, however, were neither unemployed, nor unsuccessful in their foreign wars. They obtained a signal victory over the Hernici; so that Claudius Crassinus, the dictator, had the honour of an ovation allowed him by the senate. They obtained another over the Gauls, and Quintus Pennus, the dictator, returned with a triumph. Two succeeding victories were gained over the same people by two different dictators; namely, Servilius Ahala, and Sulpicius Deticus, who both triumphed in their turns. We read likewise of a fourth triumph over the Gauls by Furius Camillus, who was created dictator to oppose them. The Arunci also, a people whose country was situated beyond that of the Volsci, made some incursions, but were repulsed by Camillus, who was created dictator a second time for that purpose.

Nor were dictators created only for thus repelling the sudden incursions of the enemy, but for much more trifling purposes. In the times of a plague we find one created, namely Manlius Capitolinus, merely to drive a nail, as a means of putting a stop to the contagion. This important business he executed with great ceremony, driving it on the right side of Jupiter's temple into the capitol. Two dictators also were successively chosen, merely to hold the comitium or assembly of the people, for a new election of consuls: thus the office became degraded, by its being prostituted to purposes unworthy of its origin.

In this manner, therefore, the Romans went gradually forward, with a mixture of turbulence and superstition within their walls, and successful enterprise without. Their contentions at home making their wars abroad less painful and fatiguing, naturally produced in them a turn to military glory. Their superstition also served as a help to their progress; for, when the bonds of authority no longer prevailed, the priests were always sure to bind the people by the ties of religion. With what an implicit obedience they submitted to their pontiffs, has already been seen in many instances; and how far they might be impelled, even to encounter death itself at their command, will evidently appear from the behaviour of Curtius about this time; who, upon the opening of a gulf in the forum, which the augurs affirmed would never close up till the most precious things in Rome were thrown into it, leaped with his horse and armour boldly into the midst, saying, that nothing was more truly valuable than patriotism and military virtue.

The gulf, say the historians, immediately closed, and Curtius was never after seen.

Another example of disinterestedness appeared under the consulate of Manlius Imperiosus, in the excellent son of this cruel father. Nature seems to have favoured him but little in her external gifts. His deficiency in these, gave rise to an accusation against his father, who was said to have exiled him in the country, where, because his understanding was deficient, and his speech embarrassed, he compelled him to labour with his slaves. This report took a very unfavourable turn against the father, whose imperious disposition had rendered him disagreeable to the public. This son, hearing of the accusation, set out one morning very early for Rome, and arrived at the house of the tribune, by whom he was prosecuted, whilst he was in bed, and was instantly introduced in the supposition that he came to strengthen the cause with his evidence; but, far from it, he threw himself on the tribune, holding a poignard in his hand, with which he threatened his life, unless he promised with an oath, never to convoke the assembly for the trial of his father. The tribune thought himself obliged to keep his word, though compelled to give it by force; and the people, finding the affair not proceeded in, far from being shocked at the violence of the enterprise, rewarded Manlius by naming him tribune of a legion, a considerable post in the army.

He shewed himself worthy of their choice by the victory he gained over an insolent Gaul, who defied the bravest man of Rome. Manlius presented himself to Appius the dictator, and the

general bid him go and humble the pride of the enemy, who insulted them, and revenge his country as successfully as he had saved his father. The combat was not long. The Gaul defended himself ill against an opponent he despised. He received a wound through a defective part of his cuirass and fell dead on the spot. Manlius took off the chain he wore and presented it to the dictator, who adorned him with it at the head of the army, and hence he received the surname of Torquatus. The same person afterwards rose to the highest offices in Rome—But we are anticipating events.

Such a fervid sense of honour, so much patriotism and love of glory in individuals, reinforced by a spirit of religion, notwithstanding the public dissensions, had gradually strengthened the influence of the Roman name, and extended the limits of the republic. However, their principal actions hitherto were against their nearest neighbours, in which they chiefly acted upon the defensive; but we are shortly to behold another scene, in which their ambition catches fire, and is not to be extinguished, till the limits of the world bound the conflagration.

The Romans having now triumphed over the Sabines, the Etrurians, the Latins, the Hernici, the Æqui, the Volscians, and other petty nations within a moderate distance, began to look for greater conquests. They accordingly turned their arms against the Samnites, a people about a hundred miles east from Rome. A. C. 328. U. C. 420.

The Samnites were a hardy nation, descended from the Sabines, inhabiting a large tract of southern Italy, which at this day constitutes a

considerable part of the kingdom of Naples.—They were equally powerful in numbers and discipline with the Romans; and had, like them, confederated states in their train. Two such aspiring neighbours, both fond of arms and inured to war, could not long want a pretext of rupture. The pretended occasion was, that the Samnites had oppressed the Sidicini, who, being too weak to manage the war alone, called in the Campanians to their assistance, and they also being overthrown, implored the assistance of the Romans. The senate for some time, in order to give a colour of justice to their ambition, seemed to defer granting aid against the Samnites, as being their friends and allies: but the importunate entreaties of the Campanian ambassadors, and the offers of the rich country which they inhabited; and, still more, the refusal of the Samnites to desist from ravaging a country which the Romans considered as their own, determined them at length to try the fortune of war. Valerius Corvus and Cornelius were the two consuls to whose care it first fell to manage this dreadful contention between rival states, that, for the space of sixty years after, deluged Italy with blood. Valerius had the character of being one of the greatest commanders of his time; he was surnamed Corvus, from a singular circumstance of being assisted by a crow in a single combat with a Gaul of gigantic stature, whom he fought and killed. To his colleague's care it was consigned to lead an army to Samnium, the enemy's capital; while Corvus was sent to relieve Capua, the capital of the Campanians. Never was a general better fitted for command: to a habit naturally robust and

athletic, he joined the gentlest manners; he was the fiercest, and yet the best tempered man in the army; and, while the meanest sentinel was his companion, no man exacted a stricter discipline: but what completes his character, he constantly endeavoured to preserve his honours and dignities, by the same arts by which they were first acquired. The Roman soldiers, hardened by incessant labour, and led on by such a general, were unconquerable. The Samnites, on the other hand, were the bravest men they ever yet encountered; and the contention between the two nations was managed on both sides with the most determined resolution. But the fortune of Rome prevailed; the Samnites at length fled, averring, that they were not able to withstand the fierce looks and the fire-darting eyes of the Romans. Valerius, the other consul, however, was not at first so fortunate; for, having unwarily led his army into a defile, he was in imminent danger of being cut off, had not Decius, a tribune of the army, possessed himself of a hill which commanded the enemy; so that the Samnites, being attacked on both sides, were defeated with immense slaughter, not less than thirty thousand of them being left dead upon the field of battle: a proof of the courage of the combatants and the numbers that were engaged.

After this great engagement, which however was far from being decisive of the destiny of either people, the inhabitants of Capua requested to have a Roman garrison to winter there, to secure them from the insults of the Samnites. Their desire was accordingly complied with; though Capua was ever infamous for being the

destroyer of military discipline, and for enervating its protectors. It offered indeed so many delights, and gratified so largely all the softer passions, that the Roman garrison began to lose not only their courage but their virtue. They formed a design of destroying the inhabitants, and taking the town to themselves. This treacherous scheme they communicated to their companions in other parts of the country, and they as readily embraced the proposal. But at length it reached the ears of the officers, who, detesting such baseness, led the legions into the field, and kept them in action, in order to give a more honourable turn to their minds. But, notwithstanding the care of the general and the officers, the soldiers, finding themselves liable to the severest punishments for their late perfidious schemes, began to mutiny; and uniting themselves into one body, marched directly forward towards Rome. For some time they were without a leader, no man being bold enough or base enough to head an army whose only bond of union was treachery. At length they forced Quintius, an old and eminent soldier, who was then residing in the country, to be their commander: and conducted by rage rather than their general, came within eight miles of the city. So terrible an army, almost at the gates, not a little alarmed the senate, who immediately created Valerius Corvus dictator, and sent him forth with another body of men to oppose their fellow-citizens. The two armies were now drawn up against each other, while fathers and sons beheld themselves prepared to engage in opposite causes, and to fall by mutual wounds.

A less humane and prudent general than Cor-

vus would, perhaps, have brought this civil war to a fatal extremity; but he knowing his influence among the soldiery, instead of pushing forward to punish the mutineers, approached with the most cordial friendship to embrace his old acquaintances. "I have had," exclaimed he, "opportunities enough of shewing my valour, "in war, I now only want to acquire reputa- "tion by making peace. You cannot distrust "me, my friends, or think Valerius Corvus can "ever be severe, who never yet gave his voice "to have one law enacted in the senate that was "contrary to your interests. You cannot think "he will be severe, whose austerities were ever "practised only upon himself. But, whatever "you do, I am resolved to behave as becomes "me; if I draw my sword, it shall not be till "you have first drawn yours; if blood must be "shed, you shall begin the slaughter. But "whom will you destroy? Not your enemies, "not the Samnites, nor the Volscians, but your "fathers, brothers, children, and countrymen; "and in the view of those very mountains where "you were born and bred. But let it not be so. "You, Quintius, if indeed you are the com- "mander of this shameful expedition, have only "to ask with reason, and we will grant with "mercy." The whole army seemed affected with this speech. Quintius, as their speaker, only desired to have their revolt forgiven; and as for himself, as he was innocent of their conspiracy, he had no reason to solicit pardon for his offences. Thus, this defection, which at first threatened such dangers to Rome, was repaired by the prudence and moderation of a general whose ambition it was to be kind to his

friends, and formidable only to his enemies. The mutineers were once more received into favour, and the dictator, having honourably and advantageously performed his commission, laid down his office.

After this, as the war with the Samnites had been for some time carried on with various success, and the balance seemed to vibrate in uncertainty, it was thought advisable to conclude a peace, the terms of which were so offensive to the Latins and the Campanians, that it induced them to revolt. The former carried their demands so far as to insist, that one of the consuls, and half the senate should be chosen out of their body, before they would submit to think of accommodation. The Romans at first tried by gentle means to divert them from their purpose; but they insisted upon it still more resolutely, ascribing the lenity of Rome to its fears. In order, therefore, to chastise them into reason, the two consuls, Manlius Torquatus, and his colleague, Decius Mus, were sent by the senate to invade their country. The Latins were not remiss in their preparations for a defence; so that the two armies met with equal animosity, and a bloody and obstinate battle ensued. In this battle, the strict discipline of the Romans, and their amazing patriotism were displayed in a manner that has excited rather the wonder than the applause of posterity. As the Latins and Romans were a neighbouring people, and their habits, arms, and language, were the same, the most exact discipline was necessary, to prevent confusion in the engagement. Orders, therefore, were issued by Manlius the consul, that no soldier should leave his ranks upon what-

ever provocation; and that he should be certainly put to death, who should offer to violate this injunction. Both armies were drawn into array, and ready to begin, when Metius, the general of the enemies' cavalry, pushed forward from his lines, and challenged any knight in the Roman army to single combat. For some time there was a general pause, no soldier offering to disobey his orders, till Titus Manlius, the consul's son, burning with shame to see the whole body of the Romans intimidated, boldly singled out against Metius. The soldiers, on both sides, for a while suspended the general engagement, to be spectators of this fierce encounter. The two champions drove their horses against each other with the utmost spirit and impetuosity: Metius wounded his adversary's horse in the neck; but Manlius, with better fortune, killed that of Metius. The Latin being thus prostrate on the ground, for a while attempted to support himself upon his shield; but the Roman followed his blows with so much force, that he laid him dead as he was endeavouring to rise; and then despoiling him of his armour, returned in triumph to the consul his father's tent, where he was preparing and giving orders relative to the engagement.

Loudly as the acclamations of his fellow-soldiers followed the deed, the generous youth approached his father with a modest hesitation. "My father," said he, "I have followed your "heroic example. A Latin warrior challenged "me to single combat, and I bring his spoils "and lay them at your feet." "Unhappy boy," cried the father, with a stern look and an inflexible resolution, "as thou hast regarded neither

"the dignity of the consulship, nor the commands of thy father; as thou hast destroyed military discipline, and set a pattern of disobedience by thy example; thou hast reduced me to the deplorable extremity of sacrificing my son or my country. But let us not hesitate in this dreadful alternative: a thousand lives were well lost in such a cause; nor do I think that thou thyself wilt refuse to die, when thy country is to reap the advantage of thy sufferings. Go, lictor, bind him, and let his death be our future example." As he uttered these words, he crowned him in the sight of his whole army, and then caused his head to be cut off. The whole army was struck with horror at this unnatural decree; fear, for a while, kept them in suspense; but when they saw their young champion's head struck off, and his blood streaming upon the ground, they could no longer contain their execrations and their groans. The dead body was carried forth without the camp, and being adorned with the spoils of the vanquished enemy, was buried with all the pomp of military distress, and all the commiseration which was due to such ill-requited heroism.

Meanwhile the battle began with mutual fury; and as the two armies had often fought under the same leaders, they combated with all the animosity of a civil war. The Latins chiefly depended on their bodily strength: the Romans on their invincible courage and conduct. Forces so nearly matched seemed only to require the protection of their deities, to turn the scale of victory; and in fact, the augurs had foretold, that whatever part of the Roman army should be distressed, the commander of that part should

devote himself for his country, and die as a sacrifice to the infernal gods. Manlius commanded the right wing, and Decius led on the left. Both sides fought, for some time, with doubtful success, as their courage was equal; and it is natural to wish that if one general must be sacrificed in the event, the lot should have fallen on the unrelenting Manlius; but the fortune of war decided otherwise. The wing commanded by Decius being repulsed, the general resolved to devote himself to his country, and to offer his own life as an atonement to save his army.

The awful peculiarity of this ceremony, calculated to make an impression on the multitude, merits a place in history. The consul, with a loud voice, called on the Pontiff Valerius to fulfil the rites, and dictate to him the words of the sacrifice. His soldiers, in profound attention, surrounded him. The pontiff commanded him to lay aside his military habit, and to put on the robe, bordered with purple, which he wore in the senate. Then, covering his head with a veil, he ordered him to raise his hand under his robe to his chin, and, standing on a javelin, to pronounce these words: "O "Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Romulus, Bellona, ye "domestic gods! ye heroes who dwell in Hea- "ven; and all ye gods who preside over us "and over our enemies; more particularly, ye "infernal deities! I invoke you all; I earnestly "intreat you to grant victory to us, and spread "terror amidst our enemies! I devote myself for "the people of Rome, for the army, the legions, "and the allies of the Romans; and I devote at "the same time, to the earth and infernal deities, "the army and auxiliaries of our enemies."

After pronouncing these words, he vaulted on his horse, and rushed like lightning into the midst of the enemy.

The strange appearance of a man unarmed, and in a robe of office, surprising the enemy, he easily broke their lines, and penetrated to the centre; but as it was observed that he struck on all sides, like a mad man, covering the ground near him with dead, a flight of arrows pierced him on every side, and he fell on a heap of slain.

In the mean time, the Roman army considered his devoting himself in this manner as an assurance of success; nor was the superstition of the Latins less powerfully influenced by his resolution; in consequence a total rout began to ensue; the Romans pressed them on every side, and so great was the carnage, that scarce a fourth part of the enemy survived the defeat.* This was the last battle of any consequence that the Latins had with the Romans; they were forced to sue for peace, and obtained it upon hard conditions. Two years after, their strongest city, Pædum, being taken, they were brought into an entire submission to the Roman power, and ceased to think of independent rights.

A. C. 323.

The Samnites, however, were still unconquered. Although an insecure peace had been made with them some time before, neither side seemed long inclined to preserve it. Their giving assistance to the Campanians, who had formerly begged the protection of the Romans against them, and now entreating theirs against

* This battle was fought at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, whence it appears that the Romans already began to act at a distance from the capital.

Rome, renewed a war, which, though intermitted by various treaties and suspensions, was to end only with the ruin of the Samnites. For some time, indeed, the fate of either nation seemed uncertain; for though the Samnites were in general worsted, a signal disgrace which the Romans sustained about this time made a pause in their usual good fortune, and wholly turned the scale for a while in the enemy's favour. The senate having refused the Samnites' equal and reasonable terms of accommodation, Pontius, their general, was resolved to gain by stratagem what he had frequently lost by force. Accordingly, leading his army into a defile, called Claudium, and taking possession of all its outlines, he sent ten of his soldiers, habited like shepherds, with directions to throw themselves in the way of the Romans. Exactly to his wishes, the Roman consul met them, and taking them for what they appeared, demanded the route the Samnite army had taken: they, with seeming indifference, replied, that they were gone to Luceria, a town in Apulia, and were then actually besieging it. The Roman general, not suspecting the stratagem that was laid for him, marched directly by the shortest road, which lay through the occupied defiles, to relieve the city; and was not undeceived, till he saw his army surrounded, and blocked up on every side. So completely were they hemmed in, "that the gods themselves," says Livy, "could "not have delivered them without a miracle." The Samnites having thus got the Roman army wholly in their power, immediately dispatched messengers to Herennius, their general's father, for instructions how to proceed. The old crafty

Samnite, who knew the disposition of the Romans, and that a fierce enemy was either to be entirely vanquished, or entirely won, advised his son indiscriminately to put them all to the sword, or to dismiss them without shame or injury; urging at the same time, that one of these two ways was absolutely necessary; the first might incapacitate them from future annoyance, the last would lay them under an eternal sense of obligation. This counsel, though the most prudent that could be imagined, was rejected by the general; and a middle course was adopted, which only served to exasperate the Romans, but not to subdue them. Pontius obliged their army to pass under the yoke, after having stripped them of all but their under garments: he then stipulated, that they should wholly quit the territories of the Samnites; and that they should religiously adhere to the conditions of amity formerly established between the two nations.*

A. C. 321. U. C. 437.

* A little before this signal disgrace to the arms of Rome, an inconceivable frenzy had seized the Roman matrons, and induced them to form the horrible plot of poisoning their husbands. Some authors reckon as many as three hundred and sixty, all women of distinction, who took part in it. Others mention only one hundred and seventy, which is not a few; but it is difficult to believe, that so many women should have united in such a crime. Many patricians perished without any suspicion of the crime, to perpetrate which, the conspirators had fixed on a time when the plague made its ravages at Rome, to whose dreadful venom it lent its assistance. They were, at length, discovered by a slave, and ten of them surprised by the consuls in the very act of preparing the poisoned beverage, which was to rid them of their remaining husbands. They declared them to be only chemical preparations, of salutary efficacy; but being ordered to make

The Romans were constrained to submit to this ignominious treaty, and marched into Capua disarmed, half naked, and burning with a desire of retrieving their lost honour. When the army arrived at Rome, the whole city was most deeply afflicted at their shameful return. Nothing but fury and revenge appeared on every face; while the consuls, who were the unfortunate instruments of their disgrace, refused to appear abroad, or to perform the necessary functions of their office. A dictator was chosen, who, having no opportunity of acting, laid down his office; and the state continued for some time without any supreme magistrate at its head, the people being sunk in a torpid indifference; which was afterwards relieved by grief and resentment, mourning and rage.

The calamity was severely felt, but its effects

proof of them on themselves, they hesitated, and demanding a conference first with the rest of their accomplices, they drank together of the fatal cup and expired. The Romans looked on this to be the effect of some vertiginous spirit, or a kind of evil fate which influenced their women, and devoted them for expiatory sacrifices. But is it not possible in times of ignorance and superstition, like those of which we now write, that the magistrates gave too easy belief to the accusation? The women had no choice but that of acknowledging their crime, or drinking their mixture. They would, undoubtedly, have preferred the latter, if certain of the innocence of the composition. But these potions which were intended for the deceased, when received into healthy and unprepared bodies, might possibly become really a poison to them, and destroy both their honour and their lives. In this case the husbands were most guilty. This supposition is surely much more conformable to the received character of the Roman matrons, so celebrated for their wisdom and fidelity, the purity of their morals, and the virtues of their sex, carried so often by them even to heroism.

were only transitory. The state had suffered a diminution of its glory, but not of its power. It only sought an opportunity of breaking a compact, which the army had made merely by compulsion; and the two consuls who had entered into this treaty offered themselves up to the enemy, as being the only persons that could be called to account. But Pontius, who justly observed, that the lives of two men were not an equivalent for those of an army, refused to receive the forfeit, and sent them back, loudly exclaiming at the perfidy of Rome. The war was now, therefore, renewed, and the Samnites being overthrown in several battles, the Romans made them submit to the same indignities as they themselves had suffered before. These successes, produced a truce, which, when expired, the war was carried on, as usual, for many years; the power of the Samnites declining every day, while the Romans gathered fresh vigour from every victory. Under the conduct of Papyrius Cursor, who was at different times consul and dictator, a succession of triumphs was gained. Fabius Maximus also had a very considerable share in the glory of conquering the Samnites, and has eternized his name for the rare union of valour, coolness, and prudence: while Decius, the son of that Decius who devoted himself for his country, about forty years before, followed the illustrious example of his father, and, rushing into the midst of the enemy, saved the lives of his countrymen with the loss of his own. Examples of this nature, and of the purest disinterestedness, were by no means rare. On one occasion the Samnite ambassadors having waited on the famous Curius Den-

tatus, to solicit his interference in favour of their country, found him seated on a stool by his hearth, making a repast on simple roots. His mediocrity of condition tempted them to offer him a bribe; but the Roman viewing it with contempt, exclaimed, "Carry back your gold, my poverty, no doubt, gave you hopes of corrupting me; but I prefer the commanding of those who possess riches to being rich myself." It was this spirit of independence that raised the Roman name, and extended its power: it was this unbounded devotion to the interests of their country, that made the Samnites an unequal match for the arms of Rome. It may seem indeed strange, how they could so long continue to make head against such a powerful foe; but we must consider, that they were aided by all the little states round them, who were either attached to them by interest, or united by a jealousy of Rome's growing greatness. Thus the Tarentines, the Lucani, the Thurini, and all the southern states of Italy, by turns, sent assistance, which for a while checked the progress of the conquerors. But their stop was of short duration; both they, and the Samnites, after repeated defeats, saw themselves, at last, stripped of their cities, and the greatest part of their country; they found themselves, at the end of the war quite exhausted; near two hundred thousand of their bravest men killed in battle, and the remainder utterly unable to make head against the conquerors. In this distress, as the Italian states were unable to defend themselves, they were obliged to call in the assistance of a foreign power, and have recourse to Pyrrhus, a

king of Epirus, to save them from impending ruin.

This prince, possessed of vast courage, ambition and power, had always kept the example of Alexander, his great predecessor, before his eyes; he was reckoned the most experienced general of his time, and commanded a body of troops, then supposed to be the best disciplined in the world. The Romans, therefore, were no longer to combat with a tumultuary force, raised in times of exigence, and depending on their courage alone for victory: they were now to oppose an army levied amongst the most polished people then existing, formed under the greatest generals, and led on by a commander of confirmed merit. Pyrrhus was no sooner applied to for succour by the Tarentines, who, in the name of all the declining states of Italy, conjured him to save them from the threatening distress, than he readily promised to come to their assistance. In the mean time he dispatched over a body of three thousand men, under the command of Cineas, an experienced soldier, and a scholar of the great orator Demosthenes. Nor did he himself remain long before he put to sea with three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, and twenty elephants, in which the commanders of that time began to place very great confidence. However, only a small part of this great armament arrived in Italy with him; for many of his ships were dispersed, and some were totally lost in a storm. A. C. 272.

Upon his arrival at Tarentum, his first care was to reform the people he came to succour:

for observing a total dissolution of manners in this luxurious city, and that the inhabitants were rather occupied with the pleasures of bathing, feasting, and dancing, than the care of preparing for war, he gave orders to have all their places of public entertainment shut up, and that they should be restrained in all such amusements as rendered soldiers effeminate. He attempted to repress their licentious manner of treating their governors, and even summoned some, who had mentioned his own name with ridicule, to appear before him. Nevertheless, he was prevented from punishing them by their ingenuous manner of confessing the charge. "Yes," cried they, "we have spoken all this against you, and we "would have said still more, but that our wine "was out." But though he forgave them with a smile, he took the most prudent precautions to guard himself against their well-known insincerity; sending his son out of the city, and removing all those he suspected to be most forward to promote sedition.

Meanwhile the Romans did all that prudence could suggest, to oppose so formidable an enemy; and the consul Lævinus was sent with a numerous army to intercept his progress. Wherefore Pyrrhus, though his whole army was not yet arrived, prepared to meet him; but previously sent an ambassador, desiring to be permitted to mediate between the Romans and the people of Tarentum. To this, Lævinus returned for answer, that he neither valued him as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy; and then leading the ambassador through the Roman camp, desired him to observe diligently what he saw, and report the result to his master.

War being thus determined on either part, both armies approaching, pitched their tents in sight of each other, upon the opposite banks of the river Lylis. Pyrrhus was always extremely careful in directing the situation of his own camp, and in observing that of the enemy. It was there, that walking along the banks of the river, and surveying the Roman method of encamping, "These barbarians,"* cried he, turning to one of his favourites, "seem to me "but little uncivilized; and, I fear, we shall "too soon find their actions equal to their reso-"lution." In the mean time, ordering a body of men along the banks of the river, he placed them in readiness to oppose the Romans, in case they should attempt to ford it before his whole army was collected. Things turned out according to his expectations; the consul, with an impetuosity that marked his inexperience, gave orders for passing the river where it was fordable; and the Epirean advanced-guard having attempted to oppose him in vain, was obliged to retire to the main body of the army. Pyrrhus, being apprised of the enemy's attempt, at first hoped to cut off their cavalry, before they could be reinforced by the foot which had not yet passed over, and led on in person a chosen body of horse against them. It was on this occasion, that he shewed himself equal to the great reputation he had previously acquired: he was constantly seen at the head of his men, leading them on with spirit, yet directing them with calmness: at once performing the office of a general,

* The Greeks considered all foreigners as barbarians, and in length of time the Romans copied the same precedent, and applied the term in the same sense.

and the duty of a common soldier, he shewed the greatest presence of mind, joined to the greatest valour. He was chiefly conspicuous by the nobleness of his air, and the richness of his armour; so that wherever he appeared, there the heat of the battle raged. In the midst of the engagement his horse happening to be killed, he was obliged to change armour with one of his attendants, and remove to another part of the combat, that required his immediate presence. Meanwhile, the Roman knights, mistaking the ill-fated attendant for the king himself, directed all their attempts that way, and at last slew him, and carried his armour to the consul. The report being spread through both armies, that the king was slain, the Greeks were struck with a general panic, and the Romans began to assure themselves of victory. But Pyrrhus in the instant appeared bareheaded in the van, and repeatedly crying out, that he was alive and safe, inspired his soldiers with new vigour. At length the Roman legions having all crossed the river, the engagement was become general: the Greeks fought with a consciousness of their former fame, and the Romans with a desire of gaining fresh glory.—Mankind had never before seen two such differently disciplined armies opposed to each other; nor is it to this day determined, whether, at that time, the Greek phalanx or the Roman legion were preferable. The combat was long in suspense; the Romans had seven times repulsed the enemy, and were as often driven back themselves; but, at length, while the success seemed doubtful, Pyrrhus pushed his elephants into the midst of the engagement, and these turned the scale of victory

in his favour. The Romans, who had never before seen animals of such magnitude, were terrified not only with their intrepid fierceness, but with the castles that were raised on their backs, and filled with armed men. They considered them, rather as prodigies sent to destroy, than as animals trained up to subdue them; while not only the men, but the horses, shared in the general consternation; neither enduring the smell nor the cries of these formidable creatures, but throwing their riders, and filling the ranks with confusion.

It was then that Pyrrhus saw the day was his own; and ordering his Thessalian cavalry to charge the enemy, who were then in disorder, the rout became general. A dreadful slaughter of the Romans ensued; fifteen thousand men being killed on the spot, and eighteen hundred taken prisoners. Nor were the conquerors in a much better state than the vanquished, Pyrrhus himself being wounded, and thirteen thousand of his forces slain. Night coming on, suspended the slaughter on both sides, and Pyrrhus was heard to exclaim, "That such another victory would ruin his whole army." The next day, as he surveyed the field of battle, he could not help regarding with admiration, the bodies of the Romans who were slain. Upon seeing them all with their wounds before, their countenances, even in death, marked with noble resolution, and a sternness that awed him into respect, he cried out, in the true spirit of a military adventurer, "O with what ease could I conquer the "world, had I the Romans for soldiers, or had "they me for their king!" The Romans were highly pleased with this politeness in an enemy,

but still more with his civil treatment, and his courtesy to the prisoners he had taken. Complaisance to the captives was a degree of refinement the Romans were yet to learn from the Greeks; but it was sufficient to shew this brave people an improvement, either in morals or war, and they immediately adopted it as their own.

The Romans, though defeated, were still undaunted; they again began to use all necessary diligence to recruit their army, and to oppose the conqueror, who, joined by the southern states of Italy, was marching directly towards Rome. However, he was still unwilling to drive the republic to an extremity; and finding they were making vast preparations, he considered that it was the best period for treating with an enemy immediately after having gained a victory over them: accordingly he resolved to send his friend Cineas, the orator, to negociate, and use all his eloquence to induce them to peace. He had long reposed great confidence in the abilities and persuasive powers of this scholar of Demosthenes; and often asserted, that he had won more towns by the eloquence of Cineas, than by his own arms. The artful Grecian readily undertook the embassy, and entering Rome, began his negociation, by attempting to influence not only the senators, but also their wives, by presents, which he pretended were sent them by his master. This, however, was the age of Roman virtue; the senators refused to accept these bounties, which they considered as bribes to betray their country; and the women were not inferior to their husbands in a noble disinterestedness. They unanimously desired him to restore to his master those al-

lurements to treason; adding, that they would then only accept his presents when the senate had considered whether they should accept his friendship.

Never was there a time, in the history of any nation, in which all the military and patriotic virtues shone with greater lustre than now at Rome. The senators having by a late law, as has been related, reduced their fortunes more nearly to a level with those of the people, began to seek distinction from virtue only, and despised those riches which could not be increased to such a degree as to place them at a distance from the vulgar. Thus Cineas, after exhausting all his artifice, and finding the Romans incapable of being seduced, either by bribery or private persuasion, changed his mode of attack, and proceeded to request an introduction to an audience of the senate. Being admitted, he began, by extolling his master's courage and clemency; his desire of patronising the brave, and his particular esteem for the Romans. He proceeded to inculcate the blessings of peace, and the happy opportunity the senate then had of restoring it. He offered, in his master's name, to return all that had been lately taken in battle, without ransom; to give assistance to the Romans on any future occasion; and all that he asked in return, was their alliance and friendship, together with permission to have the Tarentines included in the treaty. These offers, and still more the orator's eloquence, appeared to affect the whole assembly; a general inclination seemed to prevail in favour of the king's proposal, and a peace was confidently talked of in every part of the city. In this juncture, Appius Claudius,

an old senator, who was grown blind with age, and had long withdrawn from public business, caused himself to be carried into the house in a litter. The surprise of seeing this venerable character in the senate again, and a sense of the fortitude he had displayed in surmounting numerous natural ills before he could appear, awed the whole assembly into silence and attention. "I have long," cried he, raising himself from his couch, "considered my blindness and my "infirmities as evils; I supposed that Heaven "had been willing to punish the latter part of "my life for the faults I had committed when "young, and had repaid a youth of folly with "an age of pain. But now, conscript fathers, "I find that I have been peculiarly indulged in "what I had considered as calamities, since my "loss of sight hinders me from seeing the dis-"honours of my country. Nay, might I be in-"dulged a wish, it should be for deafness also; "and then I should no longer hear of what must "now excite indignation in the breast of every "virtuous Roman. How different are you now "from what you were some years ago! Alex-"ander, whom the world has called Great, was "then thought nothing in Rome; we then uni-"versally ascribed his conquests not to his va-"lour, but to his fortune. You then wished "that the tide of war might have brought him "into Italy, only to shew the world your own "superior prowess. But how are you fallen at "present! You then wished to combat with the "conqueror of Greece, and now you fear to en-"gage one of those states which he actually "conquered. You desired to cope with Alex-"ander, and yet you refuse to meet one who

" has left his native country, rather through fear " of his ancient enemies, than a desire of finding " new. We have, therefore, but this alterna- " tive, either boldly to meet Pyrrhus in the field, " or be content to suffer all the contempt the " neighbouring states of Italy shall throw upon " us; and thus, by endeavouring to avoid one " war, engage ourselves in a hundred." This speech was received with universal approbation; the assembly caught the ardour of patriotism from this veteran though rude speaker, and the smooth orations of Cineas lost the impression they had made. Being therefore unable to make any progress in his embassy, he was dismissed with an answer, intimating, that Pyrrhus must withdraw his forces from Italy, before the senate would treat with him on the subject of peace.

Cineas being thus frustrated in his expectations, returned to his master, extolling both the virtues and the grandeur of the Romans. " The " senate," said he, " appeared a reverend assembly " of demi-gods; and the city, a temple for their " reception." Of this, Pyrrhus soon after became sensible, by an embassy from Rome, concerning the ransom and exchange of prisoners. At the head of this venerable deputation was Fabricius, an ancient senator, who had long been a pattern to his countrymen of the most abject poverty, joined to the most cheerful content. This practical philosopher, who had been formerly consul, and was now the ambassador of Rome, had no other plate furniture in his house, than a small cup, the bottom even of which was of horn. His daughters being without fortunes, the senate generously portioned them from the public treasury. When the Samnites

had formerly offered him rich presents, he refused them, saying, that he was already opulent, as he had learned the art of lessening his wants, by restraining his appetites.

Pyrrhus received this contended veteran with marked attention; and willing to try how far fame had been just in his favour, offered him several valuable presents; which, however, the Roman refused. The day after, he was desirous of proving his equanimity, and ordered one of his elephants to be placed behind the tapestry, which, upon a signal given, raised its trunk above the ambassador's head, at the same time using other threatening motions. But Fabricius, with an unchanged countenance, smiled upon the king; observing, that he looked with an equal eye on the terrors of this day, as he had upon the allurements of the preceding.—Pyrrhus, pleased to find so much virtue in one whom he had considered as a barbarian, was willing to grant him the only favour which he knew could make him happy. He released the Roman prisoners, entrusting them to Fabricius alone, upon his promise, that, in case the senate were determined to continue the war, he might reclaim them, whenever he thought proper.

The Roman army having recovered from its late defeat, Sulpicius and Decius, the consuls, were immediately placed at its head. The panic which had formerly seized the soldiers from the sight of the elephants now began to wear off; and the generals, with great assiduity, applied themselves to imitate the discipline of Pyrrhus, and the Grecian method of encampment. It was adopting the warlike improvements of other nations, that they ultimately learned the art of

becoming invincible. Both armies met near the city Asculum, and both were nearly equal in numbers, being about forty thousand strong. Pyrrhus found himself incommoded by a woody country, that prevented his phalanx and elephants from acting with the same effect as in the plain; he therefore continued for some time rather upon the defensive, until night should give him an opportunity to make a more advantageous disposition. The next morning he caused a detachment of his cavalry to possess themselves of the upper grounds, and thus force the enemy into the plain; which when they had successfully effected, he brought down his elephants into the hottest part of the fight, and mixing his slingers and archers among them, formed a body that appeared almost irresistible; and from local circumstances the battle became close and general. The Roman legions at first were unable to pierce the Greek phalanx; but, becoming careless of their own lives, a desperate slaughter ensued on both sides. After a long and obstinate fight, however, the Grecian discipline prevailed; and the Romans, being pressed on every side, particularly by the elephants, were obliged to retire to their camp, leaving six thousand men dead upon the field of battle. The enemy likewise lost four thousand of their best men, and therefore had little reason to boast of the event of the battle. Indeed, Pyrrhus replied to one of his soldiers, who was congratulating him upon his victory, "One such triumph "more, and I shall be undone." Nor was this assertion made without reason; as, by this time, the greatest part of those forces, which had followed him from home, were destroyed, and his

friends and generals mostly cut off; while the Romans were constantly recruiting their army with new levies.

This battle finishing the campaign, the next season began with equal vigour on both sides. Pyrrhus had received new succours from home, while the aged Fabricius, who was made consul with Æmilius, led on the Romans, by no means discouraged at their former defeats. While the two armies were approaching, and only at a small distance from each other, a letter was brought to Fabricius from the king's physician, importing, that for a proper reward he would take his master off by poison, and thus rid the Romans of a powerful enemy and a dangerous war. Fabricius felt, at this base proposal, all the honest indignation that was consistent with his former greatness of mind, and sense of moral rectitude; he communicated it to his colleague, and instantly gave his opinion, that Pyrrhus should be informed of the treachery that was meditated against him. Accordingly letters were dispatched for that purpose, informing Pyrrhus of the affair, and lamenting his unfortunate choice of friends and enemies: that he had trusted and promoted murderers, while he directed his resentment against the generous and the brave.

Pyrrhus now began to find that the Romans, though less refined than the Greeks, would not suffer him to be their superior, even in generosity: he received the message with as much amazement at their candour, as indignation at his physician's treachery. "Admirable Fabri-"cius!" cried he, "it would be as easy to turn "the sun from its course, as thee from the paths

"of honour." Then making the proper inquiry, amongst his servants, and having discovered the treason, he ordered his physician to be executed. However, not to be outdone in magnanimity, he immediately sent to Rome all his prisoners without ransom, and again desired to negociate a peace. The Romans, on the other hand, refused to enter into a negociation, but upon the same conditions they had offered before, and released as many of the Samnites and Tarentines, as equalled the number of the prisoners they had received. The Roman obstinacy astonished Pyrrhus; he appeared divided between shame and necessity, his circumstances obliged him, in some measure, to discontinue the war, while his honour was hurt in being compelled to leave it unfinished. An invitation from the Sicilians, begging relief against the Carthaginians, who possessed their island, and treated them cruelly, relieved him from this cruel embarrassment. This expedition promised more rewards and less labour; and such were the chief objects of this military adventurer's attention. He therefore placed a garrison in Tarentum, much against the inclination of the inhabitants; and then sending his friend Cineas before him, followed with all the rest of his forces to the relief of Sicily.

The Samnites and Tarentines being thus left to the mercy of the Romans, did not cease, though in vain, to solicit him, with the most earnest supplications, to return to their protection. Pyrrhus, whom his successes in Sicily had for some time made deaf to their intreaties, was, however, after a lapse of two years, in which he had acquired victories rather splendid than useful, glad to have a specious pretext to leave that

island, as he had formerly left Italy. He, therefore, with some difficulty, once more returned to Tarentum, at the head of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. The Romans, though pressed by so formidable a power as that of Pyrrhus, had not yet forgotten the ancient animosity between the orders of the state; and upon a levy being set forward to form an army, to oppose him, many of the people refused to enlist. In order to repress a sedition which menaced the very destruction of the empire, the consuls resolved to act with spirit, and accordingly commanded that the names of the citizens should be drawn by lot; and that he who first refused to take the field, should be sold as a slave. This timely severity had its effect, and ever afterwards if any man refused to enlist when called upon, he was instantly treated by the consuls in a similar manner. Having thus raised a sufficient body of forces, the consuls divided their army into two parts, and marched into the enemy's country; one into Lucania, and the other among the Samnites.

Pyrrhus having increased his army by new levies, and being informed of this arrangement, divided his forces also, and sent one part to oppose the march of Lentulus, while he himself went to attack Curius Dentatus, before his colleague could come up. His principal aim was to surprise the enemy by night; but his march lying through woods, and his lights failing him, his men lost their way; so that at the approach of morning, they saw themselves in sight of the Roman camp, with the enemy drawn out ready to receive them. The vanguard of both armies soon met, in which the Romans had the ad-

vantage. Soon after a general engagement ensued, when Pyrrhus finding the balance of the victory turning still against him, had once more recourse to his elephants. With these, however, the Romans were then too well acquainted to feel any vain terrors from their appearance; and having found that fire was the most effectual means to repel them, they caused a number of balls to be made, composed of flax and resin, which, being kindled, were thrown amongst them as they approached the ranks. The elephants, thus rendered furious by the flame, and as boldly opposed by the soldiers, could no longer be brought to act; but fell back upon their own army, bearing down the ranks, and filling all places with terror and confusion. Thus, after a long struggle, victory declared in favour of Rome. Pyrrhus, in vain, attempted to stop the flight and the slaughter of his troops; he lost not only twenty-three thousand of his best soldiers, but his camp was also taken. The occupation of this furnished a new lesson to the Romans, who were ever open to improvement: they had formerly pitched their tents without order; but by the example before them, they were taught to measure out their ground, and fortify the whole with a trench; so that many of their succeeding victories are to be ascribed to their improved method of castrametation.

Notwithstanding such a signal and unexpected defeat, Pyrrhus bore his loss with unbroken courage: his first care was to secure a retreat, and then to keep up the spirits of his allies, with promises of better success for the future. This he did till he had tried the utmost of what his interest could effect to furnish out

another campaign. However, finding all hopes of that fruitless, he resolved to leave Italy, where he found only resolute enemies and faithless allies. Accordingly, calling together the Tarentines, he informed them, that he had received assurances from Greece of speedy assistance, and desiring them to wait the event with tranquillity; the night following embarked his troops, he bade an eternal adieu to Italy, leaving a garrison at Tarentum, merely to save appearances, and to keep his allies from despair.* A. C. 265. U. C. 483.

In this manner ended the war with Pyrrhus, after six years' continuance; through the whole of which we find the Romans acting a nobler part than in any former period, endeavouring to join the politeness of Greece to the virtuous austerity of their native manners. A spirit of frugality, contempt of wealth, and virtuous emulation, had spread itself over the whole senate. Fabricius not only brought poverty into fashion by his example, but punished all approaches to luxury by his authority as a magistrate. So strictly were the sumptuary laws enforced by this great man, when censor, that Ruffinus, who had been twice a consul and once dictator, was expelled from the senate, and had a mark of infamy put upon his name, for no other offence, than being possessed of ten pounds of silver plate, for the use of his table. By this love of temperance, and these successes in war, though the

* War seems to have been the trade of Pyrrhus:—but after many heroic achievements, he was killed by a woman who threw a tile on his head from the top of a house as he was attempting to take Argos.

individuals were poor, the public was rich; the number of citizens also was increased to above two hundred thousand men, capable of bearing arms; and the fame of the Romans was so far extended, that Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, sent ambassadors to congratulate their success, and to solicit their alliance.

As for the effeminate Tarentines, who were the original promoters of this war, they soon began to experience a worse enemy in the garrison that was left for their defence, than in the Romans, who attacked them from without. The enmity between them and Milo, who commanded their citadel for Pyrrhus, was become so great, that nothing but the fear of their inveterate foes at Rome, could equal it. In this distress they applied to the Carthaginians, who with a large fleet blocked up the port of Tarentum; so that this unfortunate people, once famous through Italy, for the elegance of their taste, and the refinement of their pleasures, now saw themselves contended for by three different armies, without the choice of a conqueror. At length, however, the Romans found means to bring over the garrison to their interest; after which they easily became masters of the city, and demolished its walls, granting the inhabitants liberty and protection under their own powerful auspices.

## CHAP. VII.

*From the Commencement to the End of the first Punic War, when the Romans began to acquire a maritime force.*

SOON after the fall of Tarentum, Rome became mistress of all the countries in Italy, from the remotest part of Etruria to the Ionian sea, and from the Tyrrhenian to the Adriatic. But it should be observed, that though all the different states in that track lost their independence, they did not all enjoy the same privileges; some were entirely subjected to the Roman laws; others were allowed to live under the original institutions; and some were tributary, and others allies. Some again enjoyed all the privileges of denizens of Rome; and others were admitted to a right of suffrage in the elections of the Campus Martius. Those different degrees of honour, privileges, and liberty, were founded on the different terms granted to the conquered, upon their surrender; and were afterwards modified or increased, according to their fidelity, and the services they rendered the republic of Rome, to which they had promised allegiance.

Not satisfied, however, with subjugating the surrounding nations, the victory over Pyrrhus not only gave the Romans reputation abroad, but kindled an ambition for foreign conquests. They began also to know, though not yet to practise, the refinements of the Greeks and Ta-

rentines, whom they had conquered; the number of their husbandmen diminished while, as in all states becoming opulent, their artisans and gentry continually increased. The environs of the city were therefore no longer able to furnish their growing numbers with corn; and supplies were obliged to be imported from foreign nations. Of these, Sicily sent by far the greatest proportion; so that the people began secretly to wish for the possession of a country, which had for some time served as the granary of Rome.

To minds predisposed for conquests, and backed by power, a pretext to commence war is seldom wanting. The Carthaginians were at that time in possession of the greatest part of Sicily, and, like the Romans, only wanted an opportunity of embroiling the natives, in order to become masters of the whole island. This opportunity now offered. Hiero, king of Syracuse, one of the states of the island as yet unconquered, entreated their aid against the Mamertines, a small independent district of the same country; and they promptly sent him supplies both by land and sea. The Mamertines, on the other hand, to ward off impending ruin, put themselves under the protection of Rome. The Romans, too proud to dignify the Mamertines with the name of allies, instead of professing to assist them, boldly declared war against Carthage; alleging as a reason, the assistance which Carthage had lately lent to the southern parts of Italy, against the Romans. From such contemptible occasions, anxiously looked for and eagerly embraced by both parties, sprung a war, which, with the exception of a few short intervals, ceased not till one of them was humbled in the

A. C. 255. U. C. 493.

dust. It is always thus when two states become jealous of each other's power, and neither will recede from unfair pretensions. War is always a fictitious and never a natural ill.

Carthage was built by a colony of Phœnicians, near the place where Tunis now stands, about a hundred and thirty-seven years before the foundation of Rome. By gradual advances, it had extended its dominions all along the northern coast of Africa, and was in possession also of many of the principal islands in the Mediterranean sea. But its chief strength lay in its fleets and commerce; by these its riches were become immense; and by means of money alone, the citizens were capable of hiring and sending forth armies to conquer or to curb. However, the possession of affluence produced its natural consequences; for as at Rome, public employments were made the reward of virtue, and superior honour only raised to pre-eminence in toil; so in Carthage, the several offices which the state had to bestow were venal; and those who purchased them, only aimed at being reimbursed by all the sordid arts of peculation. Thus unequally matched, these two great powers began what was called the first Punic war. The Carthaginians, possessed of abundance of gold and silver, which, however, was capable of being exhausted; the Romans of perseverance, patriotism, and a contempt of wealth, which gathered strength from the occasions that gave them birth.

Hitherto shut up in their own dominions, the Romans had but little knowledge of the method of transporting an army by sea. Appius Claudius was the first who, by means of a feeble

fleet, or, as some will have it, a raft of timber, wafted over a small body of forces into Sicily, where victory, as usual, was still attendant upon the Roman eagles. A league made with Hiero, king of Syracuse, soon after the consul's arrival, began to inspire the invaders with hopes of expelling the Carthaginians from the island, and becoming masters of it in their turn. But still an unsurmountable obstacle was opposed to their ambitious views: they had no fleet, or at least scarcely any thing which deserved that title; while the Carthaginians, being masters of a very powerful one, had the entire command at sea, and awed all the maritime towns into obedience. To obviate this difficulty, sufficient in itself to intimidate less resolute minds, the Romans began to apply themselves to maritime affairs: and, though without shipwrights to build, or seamen to navigate a fleet, they pursued their object with inflexible perseverance. A Carthaginian vessel happening to be driven ashore in a storm, the model was sufficient to give the Romans hopes of building vessels, that might one day controul the long-established naval power of their rival. Accordingly they diligently set about imitating this ship, and on the same plan built a hundred and twenty vessels, with amazing expedition. But now, although they had obtained something like a fleet, they still wanted sailors to navigate it. The Romans being bred up to husbandry or war, were perfectly ignorant of maritime affairs; and the neighbouring states, whom they had lately conquered, were either unwilling to embark, or not to be relied on. In this exigence, they first taught their men to row upon land, instructing them in the naval

manner of engaging, as well as circumstances would permit, and leaving it to their native valour to do the rest.

With this newly-constructed armament, the consul Duillius ventured to sea; but he soon found that the enemy was every way superior in point of sailing, and bringing their vessels into action. However, the indefatigable spirit of the Romans was not to be subdued; he found out a remedy even here, for the improvement of his operations, by inventing an instrument which, upon an impulse of two ships, kept them both grappled together; so that neither could separate, until the victory was decided. By this method, a naval engagement became more like one at land, which gave the Romans the advantage; for when the two rival fleets met, the Carthaginians lost fifty of their ships, together with the undisturbed sovereignty of the sea, which they valued more. These successes were so unexpected by the senate, that Duillius their admiral was honoured with a signal triumph; and to perpetuate the memory of his victory, a band of music was appointed to attend him at supper.*

In the mean time, a conflict was carried on by land in Sicily with various success; the Romans, and their enemies, alternately gaining the advantage. But the conduct of both nations during the continuance of this war was manifestly different. The Carthaginians appeared always murmuring against their generals and

* While Duillius received such marks of regard from his grateful country, Annibal, the Carthaginian admiral, had some difficulty in escaping with life, for suffering himself to be defeated.

admirals, and sometimes punished them with death, for want of success. The Romans went on, contented and persevering, and seemingly as calm under a defeat, as happy when victorious. Their chief successes, during the latter part of the war in Sicily, were owing to the conduct and courage of the consul Regulus, who subdued the islands Lipara and Melita, now Malta. The city of Agrigentum in Sicily, and of Alberia in Corsica, were now also attached to the dominions of Rome.

But these trifling successes were by no means sufficient to gratify the sanguine expectations of the people; for though the Carthaginians had suffered occasional defeats, yet they still continued the most powerful, and sent in supplies to the island at pleasure. The conquest therefore of Sicily was only to be obtained by humbling the power of Carthage at home. With this view the senate resolved to carry the war into Africa; and accordingly they sent Regulus and Manlius, with a fleet of three hundred sail, to make the invasion. Regulus was reckoned the most consummate warrior that Rome could then produce; he was a professed example of frugal severity, but less austere to others than to himself; he only reprehended those faults which he would have died rather than have committed: but his patriotism was greater than his temperance; and all the private passions seemed extinguished in him, or they were all swallowed up in one great ruling affection, the love of his country. As if he had a presentiment, however, of his misfortunes, it was with some difficulty he accepted this last commission. He even wrote to the senate in the following terms,

attempting an excuse; "A day-labourer, taking "advantage of the death of the farmer who "held my field, amounting to six acres, has rob-"bed me of my implements of husbandry, and "fled. My presence is therefore necessary for "the cultivation of it, without which I cannot "possibly maintain my wife and children." The senate immediately obviated this difficulty, by taking the charge of his domestic concerns on themselves, and ordered Regulus to continue his command. Accordingly, the two generals set sail with their fleet, which was the greatest that had ever yet left an Italian port, carrying a hundred and forty thousand men. They were met by the Carthaginians, with a fleet as powerful, and men better used to naval affairs. While the fight continued rather between the ships than the men, the Carthaginians seemed to have the superiority: but when the Romans came to grapple with them, the difference between a mercenary army and one that fought for fame, was apparent. The resolution of the Romans was crowned with success; the enemy's fleet was dispersed, and fifty-four of their vessels taken. The consequence of this victory was an immediate descent upon the coasts of Africa, and the capture of the city Clypea; together with twenty thousand men who were made prisoners of war. A. C. 245. U. C. 503.

The senate being informed of these great successes, and applied to for new instructions, commanded Manlius back to Italy, in order to superintend the Sicilian war; and directed that Regulus should continue in Africa, to prosecute his victories there; but as his consulship was expiring, they continued him their general, under

the title of Pro-consul. Happy in the approbation of his country, Regulus continued his successes, and led his forces along the banks of the river Bagrada. There, while he was waiting for the approach of the Carthaginians, a serpent of enormous size attacked his men as they went for water, and took a position as if it intended to guard the banks of the river. It was a hundred and twenty feet long, with scales impenetrable to any weapon. Some of the boldest troops at first went up to oppose its fury, but they soon fell victims to their rashness, being either killed by its devouring jaws, or crushed to pieces by the volumes of its tail. The poisonous vapour that issued from it is represented as still more formidable; and the men were so much terrified at its appearance, that they asserted, they would much more joyfully have faced the whole Carthaginian army. For some time it seemed uncertain which should remain masters of the river. At last, Regulus was obliged to make use of the machines employed in battering down the walls of cities; and, notwithstanding this, the serpent for a long time withstood all his efforts, and destroyed numbers of his men; but at length, a very large stone, which was flung from an engine, happened to break its spine, and weakened its motion, when the soldiers surrounded and killed it. Regulus, not less pleased with his victory than if he had gained a battle, ordered its skin to be sent to Rome, and for this the senate decreed him an ovation.*

* Incredible as the Roman accounts of this monster may appear, its skin was to be seen in the capital till the time of Pliny; and therefore the narration is not unworthy of a place in history.

Meanwhile, the Carthaginians finding that the Romans were making rapid advances to their very capital, brought out a considerable army to oppose them. A battle ensued, in which Carthage was once more defeated, and some of its best troops were cut off. This filled them with consternation and dismay; and more than eighty of their towns immediately submitted to the Romans. The Numidians, the ancient allies of the Carthaginians, rose against them at the same time, and combined to ravage the country. The peasants, who fled on every side, flocked into Carthage, as to the only place of refuge left, and introduced misery and famine. In this scene of complicated distress, the Carthaginians, destitute of generals at home who had abilities to oppose the conqueror, were obliged to send to Lacedæmon, offering the command of their armies to Xantippus, a general of great experience, who undertook to conduct them. At the same time, they dispatched some of the principal men of the state to Regulus to beg a peace. The Roman general had long wished to terminate the war, and return to his native land. Amidst his most splendid successes, he still seems to have anticipated the most melancholy reverses. When the Carthaginians, therefore, sent proposals of peace, he was very much inclined to come to an accommodation; but in some measure considering himself as master of Carthage, he thought it was his duty to dictate the terms. These were, that the Carthaginians should give up the cities they were possessed of in Sicily and Sardinia; that they should deliver up all their prisoners without reward, and at the same time ransom such as had been made by the Romans. These and some similar conditions

were offered; but the Carthaginians thinking them too rigid, the treaty was broken off, and both sides resolutely prepared for war.

By this time, Xantippus, the Lacedæmonian general, was arrived, and immediately set about levying and disciplining men for the army he was destined to command: he assured the magistrates, that their forces were hitherto overthrown, not by the strength of the enemy, but the ignorance of their own generals; he therefore only required a ready obedience to his orders, and assured them of an easy victory. The whole city seemed once more revived from despondence, by the encouragements of this illustrious stranger; and soon, from hope, grew into confidence. This was the spirit the Grecian general wished to inspire; and when he saw them thus ripe for the engagement, he joyfully took the field. The forces on both sides were but few in number; the Carthaginian army consisting only of twelve thousand foot, and four thousand horse; those of the Romans of about the same, or rather more, but all of them veterans.

The first circumstance which alarmed Regulus, was to find the enemy alter the plan of their encampment, and make a new choice of the ground. They had hitherto preferred the most woody and rugged places, where their cavalry were embarrassed, and their elephants utterly unserviceable; thus shewing a disposition to secure themselves from attack rather than act on the offensive. They now continually kept in the open country; and so harassed the Roman army, that at length Regulus was obliged to descend into the plain, and cross the river to give them battle. The Lacedæmonian made the most skilful disposition of his forces; he placed

his cavalry in the wings; disposed the elephants at proper intervals, behind the line of heavy-armed infantry; and, bringing up the light-armed troops before, ordered them to retire through the line of infantry, after they had discharged their weapons. This was a most masterly disposition, and proved useful to the Romans in succeeding engagements, though it was fatal to them in the present. For now both armies engaging, after a long and obstinate resistance the Romans were overthrown with dreadful slaughter; the greatest part of their army being destroyed, and Regulus himself taken prisoner.

A victory so great and unexpected filled the inhabitants of Carthage with ungovernable joy; they could never sufficiently satisfy themselves with gazing on the conqueror, though he was but small in stature, and of a very mean appearance. But this favourable disposition was but of short continuance, for soon their admiration was turned to envy. They could not bear to owe to a stranger that safety, which they wanted abilities and virtue to procure for themselves. Xantippus, who knew their malignity, and who never was much elated with their fickle praise, was desirous of lessening their malevolence, by removing the cause: he therefore requested permission to resign his command, and desired a ship to convey him to his own country. Their ingratitude on this occasion, if historians say true, was even more disgraceful than their former jealousy and rancour; for, pretending to furnish him with the most honourable conveyance, the mariners had private orders to throw him and his companions overboard, lest the honour of obtaining so great a victory

should be ascribed to a stranger. Thus, the term Punic faith has been used to signify deceit; so may Punic reward express the basest ingratitude.

But whatever was the fate of Xantippus, the affairs of the Carthaginians, for some time, went on to improve, while those of Rome seemed to be declining. The remains of the Roman army were besieged in Clypea, a city on the coast of Africa, which Regulus had taken; and, though it was for a while relieved by means of a naval victory, under the conduct of Æmilius Paulus, yet they were ultimately obliged to evacuate the place. Soon after the Romans lost their whole fleet in a storm; and Agrigentum, their principal town in Sicily, was taken by Karthalo, the Carthaginian general. The Romans, with a characteristic perseverance, undertook to build a new fleet, which also shared the fate of the former: the mariners, not yet acquainted with the Mediterranean shores, drove it upon quicksands; and, soon after, the greatest part perished in a storm. Thus frustrated in every naval attempt, for a while they gave up all hopes of rivalling the Carthaginians at sea, and bent all their attention to the conquest of Sicily; which they in a great measure effected.

Fourteen years of disastrous war exhausted the Carthaginian resources, and they again shewed an inclination for peace, hoping to have better terms than those insisted upon before. They therefore resolved to send to Rome to negociate this business, or at least to procure an exchange of prisoners. For this purpose they supposed that Regulus, whom they had now for four years kept in a dungeon, and treated with extreme severity, would be a proper soli-

citor. It was hoped, that, being wearied of imprisonment and bondage, he would gladly endeavour to persuade his countrymen to a discontinuance of the war, which only prolonged his captivity. He was accordingly sent with their ambassadors to Rome, but with a promise, previously exacted from him, to return in case of being unsuccessful. To this he consented, and set out on his embassy with a determination how to act.

When arrived at the gates of Rome, Regulus refused to enter them. "I am," said he, "no "longer a Roman citizen, but a Carthaginian "slave: the senate always gives audience to "strangers without the gates." His wife Marcia came to meet him, and presented to him his two children; but this wretched parent fixed his eyes on the ground, and rejected their caresses. The senate being assembled, and Regulus admitted into their presence with the Carthaginian ambassadors, thus addressed them: "Conscript "fathers, a slave of the Carthaginians, I come "from my masters to obtain a peace, or at "least an exchange of prisoners." He would have retired during the debate: the senate pressed him to remain, but he refused till ordered to do so by the ambassadors.

Whilst the elders of the senate gave their opinion, he kept his eyes steadfastly down, till it was his turn to speak, when he thus began: "A slave at Carthage; at Rome I am free, and "freely I shall speak." He then proceeded to prove it not the interest of the republic to make peace. "The forces of Carthage," said he, "are exhausted. You have been but once con"quered, and that once through my fault,

"which fault Metellus has nobly repaired: "whilst the Carthaginians have so often been "beaten that they scarcely dare meet a Roman. "Their finances are so exhausted, they can no "longer pay those mercenaries who are their "chief strength. It is therefore my advice to "pursue the war more vigorously than ever. "As for the exchange of prisoners, amongst the "officers in your hands, many who are still in "the prime of life, may yet be of service to "their country. In the few years I have to "expect of life, and those few useless, what "can you hope for from a man who allowed "himself to be conquered, and laden with "irons."

We are not told if it was debated in the senate, whether some of the interests of the republic ought not to be ceded to save the generous captive. Some senators, however, were eager to prove, that he was under no obligation to return to Carthage, and fulfil an engagement exacted by force. The pontifex Maximus himself declared it as his opinion, that he might remain at Rome without incurring the guilt of perjury. But to a decision which he thought injurious to his honour and his courage, he indignantly replied, "Though I am well acquainted with the tortures which await me at Carthage, I prefer them to an act, which would cover me with infamy in my tomb. It is my duty to return, and for all else, let the gods provide." The pressing intreaties of the senate and people were unavailing, and fearing lest he should be affected, he would neither see his wife nor children, and quitted his country with dry eyes and an unmoved countenance, whilst the surrounding beholders were melted into tears.

Yet after all, what ought we to think of this people and their senate, who, with one word, or a sacrifice of some one advantage, might have saved so magnanimous a citizen from torture and from death, and yet remained inflexible? And what also can we think of the republic of Carthage, who suffered and ordained the most respectable and honourable of men to expire in the most dreadful agonies. After having plunged him into the obscurest dungeon, he was taken out to be exposed to the burning rays of an African sun, his eye-lids being first cut off; he was then enclosed in a box pierced with iron spikes, in which he expired. On the other hand, the senate of Rome delivered their principal prisoners to his wife Marcia, who, by her orders, suffered a slow death, in tortures like those inflicted on her husband:—acts of revenge and retaliation alike detestable, for which those who rule in every government where they take place ought to be made responsible, or posted up to infamy by posterity!

Both sides now took up arms with more than former animosity. The Romans, who were inflexible in their purposes, although they had so many times been wrecked at sea, and had lost such numbers of their bravest troops on that element, once more fitted out a fleet, and again bid defiance to Carthage. It seemed, however, as if fortune was resolved to baffle their maritime attempts; for, by the bad conduct of Claudius Pulcher, the consul, and a succession of disasters, their fleet was destroyed like all the former, and the Romans seemed drained of every resource to equip a new one. In consequence of this misfortune, they A. C. 237.

were obliged to abstain for seven years from all naval preparations. But their spirit was not to be broken; they determined to build another fleet, and to try their wayward fortune once more on the unstable element. At length their perseverance was crowned with success, and one victory followed on the back of another. Fabius Buteo, the consul, shewed them the way, by defeating a large squadron of the enemy's ships; but Luctatius Catulus gained a victory still more complete, in which the power of Carthage was almost annihilated at sea, by the loss of a hundred and twenty ships, according to the lowest computation. This loss so humbled the Carthaginians that they sued for peace, which Rome thought proper to grant; but still inflexible in its demands, exacted the same conditions which Regulus had formerly offered at the gates of Carthage. It was finally stipulated, that they should lay down a thousand talents of silver, to defray the charges of the war; and should pay two thousand two hundred more in ten years' time; that they should quit Sicily, with all the neighbouring islands; that they should never make war against the allies of Rome, nor come with any vessels of war within the Roman dominions; and lastly, that all the prisoners and deserters should be delivered up without ransom. To these severe conditions the Carthaginians were obliged to submit after a contest of twenty-four years; which, in some measure, had drained both nations of every resource to renew hostilities, even had the inclination remained.

## CHAP. VIII.

*From the End of the first Punic War to the Termination of the Second.*

THE war which was just concluded, had been conducted on the part of the Carthaginians in a great measure by Hamilcar, who displayed singular courage, prudence and abilities, and only sunk at last in the common misfortunes of his country. Such was his enmity to Rome, that he did not even suffer it to die with him, but entailed it as an inheritance in his son, the illustrious Annibal. The Romans too, though completely victorious, entertained no less antipathy against the rival state which still existed in such strength as to justify a considerable share of jealousy and circumspection. However, it was necessary they should respire after so long a conflict; and in six years after the peace with the Carthaginians, the temple of Janus was shut, for the second time since the foundation of the city. The Romans being thus in friendship with all nations, had an opportunity of cultivating the arts of peace: they now began to cherish a taste for poetry, the first liberal art which rises in every civilized nation, and the first also that decays in an advanced state of society. Hitherto they had been entertained only with the rude drolleries of buffoons; and in the sports called Fescennini, a few debauched actors invented

A. C. 229. U. C. 519.

their own parts, while raillery and smut supplied the place of humour. To these a composition of a higher kind succeeded, denominated satire. This was a kind of dramatic poem, in which the follies of the great were made an object of derision to the vulgar. After these came tragedy and comedy, both borrowed from the Greeks; and, indeed, the first dramatic poet of Rome, whose name was Livius Andronicus, was born in Greece. The instant the higher species of composition appeared, this great people rejected their former impurities with disdain. From this period they laboured upon the Grecian model: and, though they were never able to rival their masters in dramatic composition, they soon surpassed them in many of the more soothing kinds of verse. Elegiac, pastoral, and didactic poetry, began to assume new beauties in the Roman language; and satire, not that rude kind of dialogue already mentioned, but a nobler sort, invented by Lucilius, was all their own.

But while they were thus cultivating the arts of peace, they were not negligent in making fresh preparations for war. The Illyrians were the first people upon whom they tried their strength, after an interval of eight years' peace. That nation, which had long plundered the merchants of the Mediterranean with impunity, were impelled by their evil genius to make depredations upon some of the trading subjects of Rome. This being complained of to Teuta, the queen of the country, instead of granting redress, she ordered the ambassador who was sent to demand restitution, to be murdered. A war ensued, in which the Romans were justly

victorious; most of the Illyric towns were surrendered to the consuls, and a peace at last concluded, by which the greatest part of the country was ceded to Rome; a yearly tribute was exacted for the rest, and a prohibition added, that the Illyrians should not sail beyond the river Lissus with more than two barks, and those not equipped for war.

The Gauls were the next people that felt the terrors of Rome. Supposing a time of peace, when the armies were disbanded, a proper season for new irruptions, this barbarous people collected fresh forces from beyond the Alps, and entering Etruria, wasted all with fire and sword, till they came within about three day's journey of Rome. A prætor and a consul were sent to oppose them, and being now instructed in the improving arts of war, they surrounded the Gauls, who still retained their primæval modes of fighting. In vain those hardy troops, who had nothing but their courage to protect them, formed two fronts to oppose their adversaries; their unprotected bodies and undisciplined forces were unable to withstand the shock of an enemy completely armed, and skilled in military evolutions. A dreadful carnage ensued, when forty thousand men were killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners. This victory was followed by another gained over them by Marcellus, in which he killed Viridomarus, their king, with his own hand, and gained the third royal spoils which had yet been obtained by a Roman. These conquests forced the Gauls to beg a peace, the conditions of which served greatly to enlarge the bounds of the empire; though certainly not to strengthen its barriers on that side.

A fresh occasion, and one worthy of the Roman name, soon offered to renew their military operations. The Carthaginians, who only made a peace because they were no longer able to continue the war, took the earliest opportunity of violating the treaty: they besieged Saguntum, a city of Spain, which had been in alliance with Rome; and, though warned to desist, prosecuted their operations with vigour. Ambassadors were sent, in consequence, from Rome to Carthage, complaining of the infraction of their articles, and requiring that Annibal, the Carthaginian general, who had advised this measure, should be delivered up. This demand being refused, the ambassadors began to perceive their inclinations for a rupture; and one of them holding out the skirt of his robe, as was the custom, told the Carthaginian ministry, that he brought them peace or war, on which they might decide according to their inclination. They desired him, with the most perfect indifference, to determine for them; to which he replied, "Then let it be war;" and thus leaving the assembly, returned to Rome.

A. C. 205. U. C. 543. War being thus again declared between these great rival powers, the Carthaginians trusted the command of their army to Annibal, the son of Hamilcar, their former general. Annibal had been made the sworn foe of Rome, almost from his infancy; for while only nine years of age, his father having performed a sacrifice, brought him before the altar, and obliged him to take an oath, that he never would be in friendship with the Romans, nor desist from opposing their power, while life and opportunity allowed, until he or they should be no more.

In those terms he swore, and he was faithful to his engagement. On his first appearance in the field, he united in his own person the most masterly method of commanding, with the most perfect obedience to his superiors. Thus he was equally beloved by his generals and by the troops he was appointed to lead. He was possessed of the greatest courage in opposing danger, and the greatest presence of mind in obviating it. No fatigue was able to subdue his body, nor any misfortune to break his spirit: equally patient of heat and cold, he only took sustenance to content nature, and not to gratify his appetite. His seasons for repose or labour were never regular or fixed: he was always ready when difficulties or his country demanded his aid. He was frequently found stretched on the ground among his sentinels, covered only with a watch coat. His dress differed in nothing from the most ordinary men of his army, except that he affected peculiar elegance in his horses and armour. He was the best horseman and the swiftest runner of his time. He was ever the foremost to engage, and the last to retreat; he was prudent in his designs, which were extensive; and ever fertile in expedients to perplex his enemies, or to rescue himself from danger. He was experienced, sagacious, provident, and bold. Such were the valuable qualities of this illustrious soldier, who is universally allowed to be the greatest general of antiquity. On the other hand, he was cruel and faithless; without honour, without religion; and yet possessed the art of simulation to such a degree, that he assumed the appearance of them all. From such a soldier and politician, the Carthaginians justly formed the greatest ex-

pectations; and his taking Saguntum shortly after, confirmed their original opinion of his abilities. But he soon gave proofs of a much more extensive genius than they had ever given him credit for. Having over-run all Spain, and levied a large army of various languages and nations, he resolved to carry the war into Italy, as the Romans had before carried it into the dominions of Carthage. For this purpose, leaving Hanno with a sufficient force to guard his conquests in Spain, he crossed the Pyrenean mountains in Gaul, with an army of fifty thousand foot and nine thousand horse. He quickly traversed that country, though filled with nations that were his declared enemies. In vain its forests and rivers interposed difficulties in his way; in vain the Rhone, with its rapid current, and its banks covered with enemies, or the Dura, branched out into numberless channels, opposed his march; he passed them all with undaunted spirit, and in ten days arrived at the foot of the Alps, over which he determined to explore a new passage into Italy. It was in the midst of winter, when this astonishing project was formed. The season added new horrors to a scene, which nature had already crowded with objects of dismay. The prodigious height and tremendous steepness of the mountains, capped with snow; the rude cottages that seemed to hang upon the sides of the precipices; the cattle, and even the wild beasts, stiff with cold, or enraged with famine; the people barbarous and fierce, dressed in skins, with long shaggy hair; presented a picture that would have impressed ordinary spectators with astonishment and terror. But nothing was capable of subduing the

courage of the Carthaginian general; after having harangued his army, he undertook to lead them up the sides of the mountain, animating his soldiers by the assurance that they were now scaling, not the walls of Italy, but of Rome.

The Carthaginians, however, in this march, had numberless and unforeseen calamities to encounter; the intenseness of the cold, the height of the precipices, the smoothness of the ice, but above all, the opposition of the inhabitants, who assailed them from above, and rolled down huge rocks upon them in their march, all contributed to dispirit the army, and to impede their progress. At length, after nine days' painful and interrupted ascent, Hannibal gained the top of the mountains, where he rejoiced his soldiers, by shewing them the charming and fertile vales of Italy, which were stretched out beneath. Here he allowed a two-days' respite, and then prepared to descend:—a work of more danger even than the former. Prodigious quantities of snow having lately fallen, as many were swallowed up in it, as had before been destroyed by the enemy. Every new advance seemed but to increase the danger, till, at last, he came to the verge of a precipice above three hundred yards perpendicular, which seemed utterly impassable. It was then that despair appeared in every face but Hannibal's; for he still remained unshaken. His first object was to endeavour by a circuitous course, to find a more commodious passage. This only increasing his difficulty, he resolved to undertake levelling the rock. To effectuate this, great numbers of large trees were felled; and a huge pile raised against it,

and set on fire. The rock being thus heated, says Livy, was softened by vinegar,* and a way opened, through which the whole army might safely pass. After this no obstacles of any comparative moment occurred; for as he descended, the vallies between the mountains became more fertile; so that the cattle found pasture, and the soldiers had time to repose. Thus, at the end of fifteen days spent in crossing the Alps, the Carthaginian found himself in the plains of Italy, with about half his army remaining; the rest having died of the cold, or were cut off by the natives.

No sooner was it known at Rome, that Hannibal, at the head of a formidable army, was crossing the Alps, in order to invade their dominions, than the senate sent Scipio to oppose him, as a general on whom they placed their greatest dependence. Scipio, being desirous of making his principal effort before Hannibal's army was recovered from the fatigues of their march, brought up his forces and attacked him near Ticinium. The engagement was for some time doubtful; but a party of Numidian horse wheeling round, attacked the Romans in the rear; and at last obliged them to retreat with considerable loss. The consul was wounded in the beginning of the fight, and would have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had not his son Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, exposed him-

* The moderns in general treat this application of vinegar as a fable; and when we reflect on the difficulty of finding a sufficient quantity of this article for his purpose, it may well give a degree of scepticism to the most credulous reader. Hannibal, however, with incredible labour made his way over the Alps; and that is enough.

self in the hottest part of the engagement, and saved his father's life, at the hazard of his own. Annibal, being thus victorious in the first onset, took the most prudent precautions to increase his army; giving orders to Mago, his general of cavalry, when he ravaged the country, always to spare the possessions of the Gauls, while his depredations were exercised solely upon those of Rome. This partial distinction charmed that simple people; they declared for him in great numbers, and flocked to his standard with alacrity.

Sempronius, the other consul, resolving to repair the injury sustained by his colleague; and perceiving that the continual defection of the Gauls increased the strength of the Punic army, determined to give battle the first opportunity. Annibal was inspired with equal resolution to come to a decisive engagement; and both armies soon met upon the banks of the river Trebia. The Carthaginian general being no stranger to the Roman impetuosity, of which he frequently availed himself, had sent off a body of a thousand horse, each with a foot soldier behind him, across the river, to ravage the enemy's country, and provoke them to engage. The Romans quickly attacked this party, which intentionally giving way without a conflict, took the river, and were as eagerly pursued by the consul. It was not, however, till his army had landed upon the opposite bank, that he perceived himself half conquered already; his men being fatigued with wading up to their arm-pits, and quite benumbed by the intense coldness of the water. But it was now too late to retire; for Annibal came pouring down with his forces,

fresh and vigorous, so that the battle soon became general. The courage of the Romans for a while withstood every disadvantage, and kept the victory in suspense; but they soon found themselves attacked also in the rear by a party of horse, which the Carthaginian general had laid in ambush, to be ready for the occasion. At length, a total rout ensued; twenty-six thousand of the Romans were either killed by the enemy, or drowned in attempting to repass the Trebia. A body of ten thousand men alone survived; who, finding themselves enclosed on every side, broke desperately through the enemy's ranks, and fought, retreating, till they were received within the friendly walls of Placentia.

The loss of these two battles only served to increase the resolution of Annibal, and the vigilance of Rome. Preparations for the ensuing campaign were carried on with greater vigour than before; and the Carthaginian general, finding himself in a condition to change the seat of the war, resolved to approach Rome, by marching into Etruria. There were two ways for accomplishing this design: one, more tedious, but secure; the other, which was shorter, led through the marshes, caused by the inundations of the river Arno. He chose the latter; and all the former fatigues of the Carthaginian army were nothing, compared to their sufferings here. They were forced to march three days and nights successively, up to the knees in water, without sleep and without rest; the hoofs of the horses came off in their passage, while the beasts of burthen that carried the baggage, unable to support the fatigue, were left dead in the mud.

Annibal, riding upon an elephant, which was the only one left alive, felt all the complicated distress of his own situation, and that of his army. His health had been impaired in the preceding spring, and having then an inflammation in his eyes, by his present fatigues he lost the sight of one of them entirely. At last, however, he arrived upon dry ground, where he was informed, that Flaminius, the consul, was encamped near Aricia, waiting the arrival of the other consul with reinforcements from Rome. One of Annibal's chief excellences in war, was the care he took to inform himself of the temper and disposition of the generals who opposed him; and finding that Flaminius was rash and overbearing, elated with his past successes, and presuming with regard to the future, he resolved to bring him to an engagement before his colleague should join. Seeming therefore to take no notice of the army which lay in the direct road towards Rome, he made a diversion on one side, and marching onward, as if to besiege the capital, ravaged the whole country in a terrible manner, with fire and sword. Flaminius, as was expected, could not tamely bear to see an insulting enemy laying every thing waste before him, but burned for the engagement. It was in vain that he was advised by the senate, and his confidential friends, to use caution, and not to let the enemy's insults provoke him to an unequal combat. He immediately ordered his troops to march, the officers foreboding their future danger, while the soldiers were rejoicing in the courage of their general, and indulging their hopes of success, rather than considering the reasons which they had to inspire them.

Annibal was with his army, at the time when Flaminius came out to engage him, by the lake of Thrasymene; near to which was a chain of mountains, and between these and the lake, a narrow passage, leading to a valley, embosomed in hills. It was upon these hills that he disposed his best troops, and it was into this valley that Flaminius led his men to attack him. A disposition every way so favourable for the Carthaginians was also assisted by accident; for a mist rising from the lake, prevented the Romans from seeing their enemies; while the army upon the mountains, being above its influence, saw the whole disposition of their opponents. The fortune of the day was such as might be expected from the conduct of the two generals; the Roman army was broken, and slaughtered, almost before they could perceive the enemy that destroyed them. About A. C. fifteen thousand Romans fell in the valley, and six thousand more were obliged 204. to yield themselves prisoners of war. In this general carnage, the brave but unfortunate Flaminius did all that courage could inspire to save his army; wherever the enemy was most successful, he flew with a chosen body of his attendants to repulse them: at last despairing of victory, and unwilling to survive a defeat, he flung himself alone into the midst of the enemy, and was killed by a Gaulish horseman, who pierced his body with a lance. Annibal, after the battle, kept the Roman prisoners, but civilly dismissed those of the Latins; and willing to give the consul an honourable interment, sought his body amongst the slain, but it could not be recognized in such a mass of carnage.

Upon the news of this defeat at Rome, after the general consternation was somewhat composed, the senate, upon mature deliberation, resolved to elect a commander with absolute authority, in whom they might repose their last hopes, and entire confidence. Their choice fell upon Fabius Maximus, a man of approved courage, but with a happy mixture of caution, less fascinated with the glare of success, than the consciousness of deserving it. This veteran commander, thus invested with the supreme dignity, set forward with what forces he was able to raise, but with no intentions of fighting an enemy which he knew to be more powerful than himself. Before he assumed the command, he had wisely concerted his measures, and to them he strictly adhered during all the ensuing campaigns. He was sensible that the only way to humble the Carthaginians at such a distance from home, was rather by harassing them than by fighting. For this purpose, he always encamped upon the highest grounds, inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry. Whenever they decamped, he likewise took a new position, watched their motions, straitened their quarters, and cut off their supplies. It was in vain that Annibal used every stratagem to bring him to a battle; the cautious Roman, thence surnamed Cunctator, still kept aloof, contented with seeing his enemy, in some measure, defeated by delay. Annibal perceiving that his adversaries had altered their plan of operations, tried his usual arts to render Fabius despicable in the eyes of his own army. He sometimes, therefore, braved him in his camp; sometimes wasted the country round him; talked of his abilities with con-

tempt; and, in all his incursions, spared the possessions of Fabius, while those of the other Romans were plundered without mercy.

These Punic arts were not wholly unsuccessful: the Romans began to suspect their general, either of cowardice or treachery; and a slight action that ensued soon after, gave strength to their suspicions: for Annibal, designing to march for the convenience of forage, to a place called Cassinum, was, by the mistake of his guide, conducted towards Cassilinum, where he found himself in a close country, hemmed in on every side. Anxious, however, to draw all the advantages he was able from his situation, he ordered his cavalry to pillage the country round, which the Roman army, still in view, beheld from a neighbouring hill. Annibal knew that his depredations would excite them to a desire of revenge; but it was in vain they urged their phlegmatic general to lead them down upon the enemy. Fabius still kept his post, contrary to all the entreaties of his men, and even the expostulations of Minucius, his master of the horse.

It was now found, however, that the prudent Roman began to turn Annibal's own arts against him: he had enclosed that general among mountains where it was impossible to winter; and yet from which it was almost impracticable to extricate his army, without imminent danger. In this exigence, nothing but one of those stratagems of war, which great men only are capable of forming, could save him: he ordered a number of small faggots and lighted torches to be tied to the horns of two thousand oxen, which he had in his camp, and directed them to be

driven towards the enemy. These tossing their heads, and running up the sides of the mountain, seemed to fill the whole neighbouring forest with fire; while the sentinels who were placed to guard the approaches of the mountain, seeing such an uncommon appearance advancing towards their posts, fell back in consternation, supposing the whole body of the enemy was in arms to overwhelm them. By this stratagem, Annibal found an opportunity of drawing off his army, and escaped through the defiles beneath the hills, with considerable damage however to his rear; and though Fabius had conducted himself in this affair with the prudence and conduct of the most consummate general, he could not prevent the murmurs of his army, who began to charge him with ignorance in war, as they had formerly impeached his valour and fidelity.

Nevertheless, Fabius, no way solicitous to quiet the murmurs, either of his army or of the citizens, returned to Rome, in order to raise money to ransom some Roman prisoners whom Annibal offered to release; but in the mean time he gave instructions to Minucius, his master of the horse, to abstain from giving the enemy battle, upon any occasion whatsoever. Minucius, however, who now began to entertain the same opinion of the dictator, with the rest of the soldiers, little regarded his instructions; but venturing out against the Carthaginians, skirmished with such success, that, by universal consent, he was made equal in power to the dictator, both generals being appointed to command, each his own part of the army. Thus possessed of equal power, Minucius began to abandon the prudent plan laid down by Fabius.

Instead of keeping on the tops of the mountains, he now drew down his part of the army into the plain, and offered the enemy battle. This was the disposition that Annibal had long wished for, and, pretending to be very earnest in taking possession of a hill which commanded the camp of the Romans, he drew the eyes of all to that quarter, while he formed an ambuscade on the other side, with orders to sally forth, in the midst of the engagement. The Romans accordingly made a most vigorous attack upon the Carthaginians, who had taken possession of the hill, while new reinforcements were sent from either army. At last, Minucius drew out his legions, and the engagement became general. It was then that the superior conduct of the Carthaginian commander was discovered; for the men who were placed in ambush sallying forth upon the rear, began to throw the whole Roman army into confusion, and nothing less than a total defeat threatened to ensue. In the mean time, Fabius, who was just returned from Rome, after soliciting an exchange of prisoners, and after selling all his little patrimony to raise a sum which he was denied by the senate, to pay their ransom, reached his army, while Minucius was in this desperate situation. He did not long hesitate upon the course he should pursue; but falling upon the Carthaginians, at once stopped the flight of the Romans, and obstructed the enemy's pursuit. Annibal now perceived that the cloud which had so long hovered upon the mountains, at last broke upon him in a storm; he was obliged, therefore, to command a retreat; while Minucius was so sensible of his imprudent impetuosity, that he confessed it to

Fabius, whom he now called his father; and, renouncing his new power, again subjected himself wholly to the dictator.

Soon after, however, Fabius was obliged to lay down his office, the period of his appointment being expired, and a violent contest ensued at Rome, respecting the proper persons to be elected to the consulship. The patricians and plebeians, as usual, taking opposite sides, at last the multitude prevailed, and Terentius Varro was chosen by the majority of voices in the assembly of the people. This object of popular favour was sprung from the dregs of the people, with nothing but his confidence and riches to recommend him. He had long aspired to the highest offices of the state: though he was ignorant, vain, boastful, and confident, fond of applause, and seeking it by all the arts of meanness and adulation. With him was joined Æmilius Paulus, of a disposition entirely opposite; experienced in the field, cautious in action, and impressed with a thorough contempt for the abilities of his colleague. Fabius, who had just resigned his office, saw, with his usual sagacity, the danger that threatened the state, from two such ill-matched commanders, and entreated Æmilius, by all he held dear, to guard against the devices of Annibal, and the rashness of Terentius Varro. But it was now no time for indulging fearful apprehensions, the enemy being at hand, and the Romans prepared with ninety thousand men to oppose him.

Annibal was at this time encamped near the village of Cannæ, with a periodical wind, in his rear, which raising great clouds of dust from the parched plains behind, he knew must greatly

distress an approaching enemy. In this situation, he waited the approach of the Romans. The two consuls soon appeared to his wish, dividing their forces into two parts, and agreeing to take the daily command by turns. On the first day of their arrival, it was the lot of Æmilius to command, but he was entirely averse from engaging; and though Annibal practised every art, by insulting his men in their camp, and his colleague, by reproaching his timidity, to bring him to a battle, yet he obstinately declined fighting, conscious of the enemy's superior dispositions. The next day, however, it being Varro's turn to command, he, without asking his colleague's concurrence, gave the signal for battle: and passing the river Aufidus, which laid between the two armies, put his forces in array. The two consuls commanded the two wings; Varro on the right, and Æmilius on the left; to whom also was consigned the general conduct of the engagement. On the other side, Annibal, who had been from day-break employed in marshalling his forces as they came up, and inspiring them with courage by his voice and example, made so artful a disposition, that both the wind and the sun were in his favour. His cavalry were ordered to oppose those of Rome; and his heavy armed African infantry were placed in the wings. These, says the historian, might have been mistaken for a Roman army, being dressed in the spoils of such as were killed at Trebia and Thrasymene. Next these were the Gauls, a fierce people, naked from the waist, bearing large round shields, and swords of an enormous size, blunted at the point. The Spaniards were placed in the centre, brandishing short-pointed

daggers, and dressed in linen vests, embroidered with the brightest scarlet. Asdrubal commanded the left wing, the right was given to Maherbal, and Annibal fought on foot, in the centre of the army. The battle began with the light-armed infantry; the horse engaged soon after; and the Roman cavalry, being unable to stand against those of Numidia, the legions came up to sustain them. It was then that the conflict became general; the Roman soldiers, for a long time, endeavoured, but in vain, to penetrate the centre where the Gauls and Spaniards fought; which Annibal observing, ordered part of those troops to give way, and to permit the Romans to embosom themselves within a chosen body of the Africans, whom he had placed on either wing, so as to surround them. A terrible slaughter of the Romans immediately took place: they were fatigued with repeated attacks, while the enemy were fresh and vigorous. All the hopes of Rome now lay in the cavalry of the allies which yet continued unbroken, but even on that side the superior art of Annibal discovered itself; for, having ordered five hundred of his Numidian horse, with daggers concealed under their coats of mail, to go against the enemy, and to make a shew of surrendering themselves prisoners of war; these obeying, and being placed by the allied cavalry, for greater security, in the rear, while they were employed in combating the troops that opposed them in front, all of a sudden, these supposed prisoners fell upon the Romans with their daggers from behind, and put them into irrecoverable confusion.

Thus the rout of the Roman army at last became general in every direction; the boastings of

Varro were now no longer heard; while Æmilius, who had been dangerously wounded by a slinger, in the beginning of the engagement, still feebly led on his body of horse, and did all that could be done by prudent valour, to retrieve the fortune of the day. However, being unable to sit on horseback, he was forced to dismount, as did also his followers. But what could be expected from a measure dictated only by despair! Though they fought with great intrepidity for some time, they were at last obliged to give way; and, those that were able, re-mounting their horses, sought for safety by flight. It was in this deplorable posture of affairs, that one Lentulus, a tribune of the army, as he was flying on horseback from the enemy, which at some distance pursued him, met the Consul Æmilius sitting half dead upon a stone, covered over with blood and wounds, and expecting every moment the approach of the pursuers. "Æmilius," cried the generous tribune, "you, at least, "are guiltless of this day's slaughter: take my "horse, while you have any strength remaining; "I will engage to assist, and will with my life "defend you. We have already lost blood "enough in the field, do not make the day "more dreadful by the loss of a commander."— "I thank thee, Lentulus," cried the dying consul, "for ever maintain thy virtue, and may the "gods recompense thy piety; but as for me, all is "over; my part is chosen; do not therefore, by "attempting to persuade a desperate man, lose "the only means of providing for thine own "safety. Go, I command thee, and tell the se-"nate, from me, to fortify Rome against the ap-"proach of the conquerors. Tell Fabius also,

"that Æmilius, while living, ever remembered "his advice; and now, dying, approves it."

While he was yet speaking, the enemy approached; and Lentulus, before he was out of view, saw the consul expire, feebly fighting in the midst of hundreds. The slaughter had now continued for several hours, till at last, the conquerors, quite wearied with destroying, Annibal gave orders for them to desist, and led them back to their encampments, a large body of Romans having previously surrendered upon condition of being dismissed without arms. In this battle, the Romans lost fifty thousand men, two quæstors, twenty-one tribunes, eighty senators, and so many knights, that it is said, Annibal sent three bushels of gold rings to Carthage, which those of their order wore by way of distinction on their fingers. A. C. 203. U. C. 545.

This seemed the decisive blow, that was to determine the fate of Rome: it only now remained, and was universally expected, that Annibal would march his army to the gates of the city, and make it an easy conquest. Such was the advice of Maherbal, commander of the horse, who, when Annibal rejected it, could not help observing, that the Carthaginian general was much more skilful in gaining victories, than in improving them. Indeed, Maherbal's advice appears reasonable, from the general terror that prevailed in Rome at that time. Nothing was heard throughout the city but shrieks and lamentations of women, who on every side demanded their lost husbands or their children. In vain, for a time, did the senate attempt to consult together: they were disturbed by the cries

of the populace. Terror appeared in every face; and despair was the language of every tongue. At length, when the first consternation was abated, the senate came to a general resolution, to create a dictator, in order to give strength to the government. Orders were also given, to keep all women from coming abroad and increasing the general alarm; and guards were placed at the city gates, with strict injunctions, that none should leave the city. It was now that young Scipio, whom we have already seen saving his father's life in battle, was resolved to save his country also. He was then but a tribune of the army, and being retired, the night after the battle, to a little town in the neighbourhood of Rome, was informed that some young men of the first rank, were assembled at a certain house, preparing to abandon their country, and resolving to seek for safety by flight. He was instantly filled with indignation at their pusillanimity; he therefore resolved to prevent that influence which their example might have upon others; and turning to some of his fellow-soldiers, who were with him, "Let "those," cried he, "to whom Rome is dear, fol- "low me." So saying, he went directly to the house where they were assembled, and found them in actual deliberation. Upon this, laying his hand upon his sword, "I swear," exclaimed he "that I will never forsake Rome, and will "never suffer others to abandon it. Those who "will not take the same oath, are not only their "country's enemies, but mine." The resolute manner in which he spoke, together with his known courage, in some measure intimidated the conspirators; they all took the same oath,

and vowed, rather than forsake Rome, to stay till they were buried beneath its ruins. Thenceforward the people seemed to gather new resolution; the senate conceived new hopes of victory, and the augurs gave them assurances that their affairs would soon assume a favourable aspect. A short time after, Varro arrived near Rome, having left behind him the wretched remains of his army: he had been the principal cause of the late calamity; and it was natural to suppose that the senate would severely reprimand the rashness of his conduct. But the Romans possessed a magnanimity which we in vain look for in other nations. They went out in multitudes to meet him; and the senate returned him thanks, that he had not despaired of the safety of Rome. Such a conquest over all the vindictive passions was much greater than the victory at Cannæ. The people being thus, by Annibal's delay, inspired with fresh courage, made all possible preparations for another campaign. They armed their slaves, and filled up the senate, which wanted nearly half its number. Fabius, who was considered as the shield of Rome, and Marcellus as the sword, were appointed to lead the armies; and though Annibal once more offered them peace, they refused it, but upon condition that he should quit Italy.—Terms similar to those they had formerly insisted upon from Pyrrhus, their first foreign invader.

In the mean time, Annibal, either finding the impossibility of marching directly to Rome, or willing to give his forces rest after such an important victory, led them to Capua, where he resolved to winter. As this city has long been considered as the nurse of luxury, and the cor-

ruptor of military virtue, a new scene of pleasure opened to his troops, and they at once gave themselves up to intoxication, till, from being hardy veterans, they became effeminate rioters. For this their general has been greatly blamed by antiquity, as losing that happy occasion, when fortune seemed propitious, and exchanging empire for dissipation; but it is not considered, what serious obstacles he had still to surmount, and what an enemy he had to deal with. Rome was still powerful; it could bring into the field, at this period, two hundred thousand fighting men; it might, therefore, have been rashness in Annibal, to lead his army to the siege of a city strongly defended by art, and with a garrison more than four times equal to his army. We have only, however, to give him credit, upon this occasion, for what he would have done, by remembering the seeming impossibilities which he happily achieved. To have led and maintained a large army, consisting of various nations, more than a thousand miles from home; to have surmounted precipices, which, considering the season, and the place where he entered Italy, are, to this day, regarded as almost impassable; to have fought successfully for such a length of time, in the heart of an enemy's country; to have, by his single presence, united into obedience, and formed into one body, an army, composed of Spaniards, Africans, Gauls, and Ligurians, and kept them steady to him, though often wanting bread; to have a brave and obstinate enemy to combat, and faithless employers at home, who retarded, because they envied his successes; when we consider him as triumphing over all these obstacles,

by the strength of his genius alone, we view in him the most august spectacle that, perhaps, antiquity has ever exhibited to the contemplation of man.

Hitherto, we have found this great man successful; but now we are to reverse the picture, and survey him struggling with accumulated misfortunes, and, at last, sinking beneath them. His first repulse was from his own countrymen at home. Whilst, at Rome, the thanks of the senate were voted to a consul who fled, at Carthage, Hanno, one of their former generals, began to form a party against Annibal; and, more an enemy to his rival than to the Romans, neglected nothing that might obstruct the successes he had in prospect, or tarnish the splendour of those he had already obtained. Upon Annibal's sending for a new supply of men and money to the senate of Carthage, "What would "this man have asked," cried Hanno, "if he had "lost a battle, when he makes such demands "upon us after gaining a victory? No, no, he "is either an impostor, that amuses us with false "news; or a public robber, that enriches himself and not his country." This opposition delayed the necessary succours, though it could not hinder their tardy compliance. Thus being frequently destitute of money and provisions, with no recruits of strength in case of ill fortune, and no encouragement even when successful, it is not to be wondered at, that his affairs began at length to decline; and that those of the Roman generals began to prosper, whose employers observed a conduct diametrically opposite.

His first loss was at the siege of Nola, where

Marcellus the prætor made a successful sally. He some time after attempted to raise the siege of Capua, and attacked the Romans in their trenches, but was repulsed with considerable loss. He then made a feint of going to besiege Rome; but finding a superior army ready to receive him, he was obliged to retire. For some years after, he fought with various success; Marcellus, his opponent, sometimes gaining, and sometimes losing the advantage, but coming to no decisive engagement. However, even victories could not restore the affairs of Annibal; for, though these might lessen the number of his enemies' forces, he had exhausted all the arts of recruiting his own.

The Carthaginians, at last, sensible of the impolicy and injustice of their conduct, came to a resolution of sending his brother Asdrubal to his assistance, with a body of forces drawn out of Spain. Asdrubal's march being made known to the consuls, Livius and Nero, they went against him with great expedition, and surrounding him in a place, into which he was led by the treachery of his guides, they cut his whole army to pieces. Annibal had long expected these succours with impatience; and the very night on which he had been assured of his brother's arrival, Nero ordered Asdrubal's head to be cut off, and thrown into his brother's camp. The Carthaginian general now began to perceive the disasters of his country; and could not help, with a sigh, observing to those about him, that fortune seemed fatigued with granting her favours, and was now disposed to resume them.

Nor was it in Italy alone, that the affairs of Carthage seemed to decline: the Romans, while

yet bleeding from their defeat at Cannæ, sent legions into Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily. This unconquerable people, surrounded by enemies on every side, still found resources to oppose them all; they not only fought those nations, but appointed fresh succours to the few allies which yet adhered to them: they made head against Annibal in Italy, and, at the same time, undertook a new war against Philip, king of Macedon, for having made a league with the Carthaginians. Fortune seemed to favour them in almost all their enterprises. Lævinius, the consul, gained considerable advantages over Philip; and Marcellus took the city of Syracuse, in Sicily, after a long and vigorous defence.

This great and opulent city, though reckoned indefensible, first invited the efforts of the besiegers. The Romans, therefore, sat down before it, with the expectation of a speedy surrender, and immense plunder. But the wisdom of one man alone seemed to suspend its fate, and to threaten the assailants with destruction. This was Archimedes, the celebrated mathematician, many of whose works are still remaining. He so united the powers of mechanism, that he raised their vessels into the air, and then let them dash to pieces, by the violence of their fall. He also made use of burning glasses, which, at the distance of some hundred yards, set the Roman ships and wooden towers on fire. At last, however, the town was taken, on a great festival, by surprise. The inhabitants were put to the sword; and among the rest, Archimedes, while meditating in his study, was slain by a Roman soldier. Marcellus lamented this irreparable loss, though of an enemy. A passion

for letters, at that time, began to prevail among the higher ranks of people at Rome. He therefore ordered his body to be honourably buried, and a tomb to be erected to his memory, which however, his own works have long survived.

Though the affairs of the Romans in Spain appeared for a while doubtful, by the loss of two of the Scipios, yet they soon recovered under the conduct of Scipio Africanus, who sued for the office of proconsul to that kingdom, at a time when every one else was willing to decline it. Scipio, who was now but twenty-four years old, had all the qualifications requisite for forming a great general, and a good man: he united the greatest courage with the greatest tenderness; superior to Annibal in the arts of peace, and almost his equal in those of war. His father had been killed in Spain, so that he seemed to have an hereditary claim to be revenged on that country. So many great qualities rendered him irresistible; and though he obtained many great victories, yet he conquered more by his generosity, mildness, and benevolent disposition, than by the force of his arms. Among other instances of the greatness of Scipio's mind, the following is particularly recorded: Upon the taking of New Carthage, he treated his prisoners with the utmost lenity; and, different from other generals, who permitted every barbarity to the soldiers, he repressed his men from doing any injury to such as sued for mercy. Among the prisoners was a young princess of the most exquisite beauty; she had been betrothed to Alleucius, a prince of that country, who loved her with the most ardent passion, and had felt the most poignant

distress at her captivity. It was thought by the solicitude the generous Roman seemed to shew, that he designed asking her for himself; and more so when he desired that her parents, as well as Allucius, might attend him. The young prince approached, trembling with anxiety, expecting to hear that his mistress was intended to promote the happiness of her conqueror: but his fears were dispelled, when Scipio, giving the princess to his arms, bade him take what was his by a prior claim, and only desired his friendship and alliance in return: at the same time he refused the ransom which her parents had brought; and when they pressed him to accept it, he desired it might be added to her portion. It was by such generous acts as these, as well as the fortune of his arms, that he gradually reduced the whole country to the obedience of the Romans.

Spain and Sicily being thus added to the Roman empire, it soon found resources for continuing the Punic war. However, Annibal still kept his ground in Italy, though he was unsupported at home, and but indifferently assisted by the alliances he had made in Europe. He had continued in the country for more than fourteen years, and, as Polybius says, had never lost a battle, where he was the commander. But it was now too late to retrieve his fortune; the Romans were taught his own arts; his old army was worn out, either with excesses of fatigue or debauchery; his countrymen had neglected to send new supplies; so that he had nothing left to make him formidable, but the fame of his former successes.

It was in this posture of his affairs, that Sci-

pio returned with an army from the conquest of Spain, and was made consul at the age of twenty-nine. At first it was supposed he intended meeting Annibal in Italy, and that he would attempt driving him from thence; but Scipio had already formed a wiser plan, which was to carry the war into Africa, and make the Carthaginians tremble for their own capital. This measure was opposed with great heat by Fabius, and thereupon a considerable difference arose; but at last it was determined by the senate, that Scipio should have Sicily for his province, and that leave should be given him to pass over into Africa, if he saw it convenient for the interests of Rome. This he considered as a concurrence with his intentions; he accordingly spent the first year in Sicily, providing necessaries for his intended expedition, and went over to Africa the beginning of the next, with a large fleet, where he was joined by Massinissa, the deposed king of Numidia, with whom he had made an alliance in Spain.

Scipio was not long in Africa without coming to action; for in a short time, Hanno opposed him, but he was defeated and slain. Syphax, the usurper of Numidia, assembled a large army against him. The Roman general, for a time, declined fighting, till finding an opportunity, he set fire to the enemy's tents, and attacking them in the midst of the confusion, killed forty thousand men, and took six thousand prisoners. Not long after, Syphax, willing to make another effort for the empire, and fearing that his kingdom would return to the true possessor, in case the Romans should succeed, gathered together a numerous army of various

nations, and with these unexperienced troops marched against Scipio. His former ill fortune followed him; he was again defeated, and taken prisoner. Massinissa being thus put in possession of the usurper's person, the better to regain his kingdom, marched with the utmost expedition to Cirta, the chief city, and shewing Syphax in bonds, procured the gates to be opened, every one striving to atone for his former disloyalty, by a prompt obedience. In this manner Massinissa became possessed of the royal palace, and all the wealth of the late king; but among the rest, he became master of a treasure that he esteemed above all, Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax. Sophonisba was the daughter of Asdrubal, one of the Carthaginian generals; a woman of great ambition, and incomparable beauty, who, from the beginning, had incited Syphax to declare against Rome, in favour of Carthage; and the influence of her charms was such, that he made every sacrifice to enjoy them.

Upon Massinissa's entering the palace, he was met by the queen, who, with all the allurements of weeping beauty, fell at his feet, and entreated him to spare her youth, and not deliver her up to the Romans, who were prepared to take vengeance upon her for all the injuries done them by her father. While she yet hung upon his knees, and, in some measure mixed caresses with her entreaties, Massinissa found himself touched with a passion that was something more than pity: he therefore quickly granted her request, and finding her not averse to his solicitations, the very day they met was that of their nuptials. The first account that Scipio had of this precipitate and scandalous

marriage was from the unfortunate Syphax himself, who attempted to palliate his enmity to Rome, by throwing the blame upon Sophonisba, and then described the wretchedness of his situation, with an eloquence pointed by jealousy.

Scipio was instantly fired with resentment at the conduct of the young king; he now saw that all his former lectures, exhorting to continence and humanity, were but thrown away; he therefore desired to speak with Massinissa in private, where he urged the cruelty, the impropriety, and the injustice of taking the wife of another, and that on the day on which he had lost his liberty and his kingdom: he entreated the young king to recollect his former virtuous resolutions, and reject a passion that was attended with infamy. Finding, however, these remonstrances make no impression, he added, that Syphax was now the prisoner of Rome; that he must wait upon the senate; and that his queen, who was a prisoner also, must attend him there. Massinissa now finding that the obstacles to his fancied happiness were insurmountable, left Scipio in a seeming acquiescence with his advice; but feeling all that tumult of passions, which disappointed love, and ungoverned inclination could excite. At last, calling to one of his slaves who carried poison, according to the custom of barbarian kings, "Go," said he, "and present the "queen, from me, with a bowl of poison; death "is now the only way she has left for escaping "the power of the Romans. The daughter of "Asdrubal, and the wife of a king, will con-"sult her glory." When the slave presented his mistress with the bowl, "I take it," cried she, "as the kindest offering he can make. In

"the mean time, inform him, that my death "would have been more glorious had it been "more distant from my marriage." So saying, she drank off the poison with intrepidity, and died without shewing any signs of terror or regret.

While these things were transacting at Cirta, the Carthaginians were so terrified at their repeated defeats, and the fame of Scipio's former successes, that they determined to recal Annibal out of Italy, in order to oppose the Romans at home. Deputies were accordingly dispatched, with a positive command, to return and oppose the Roman general, who at that time threatened Carthage with a siege. Nothing could exceed the chagrin and disappointment of Annibal, upon receiving this order; he had long foreseen the ruin of his country, but at the same time knew, that Italy was the only place in which its fate could be suspended. However, he obeyed the orders of his infatuated country, with the same submission that the meanest soldier would have done, and took leave of Italy, with tears in his eyes, after having kept possession of the most beautiful parts of it for above fifteen years.

After a melancholy passage from Italy, where he had lost his two brothers, with most of his generals, and left the allies of his country to the fury of the conquerors, he arrived at Leptis, in Africa, from whence he marched to Adrumentum, and at last approached Zama, a city within five days' journey of Carthage. Scipio, in the mean time, led out his army to meet him, joined by Massinissa, with six thousand horse; and to

shew his rival in the field how little he feared his approach, dismissed the spies, who were sent to explore his camp, having previously shewn them the whole, with directions to inform Annibal of what they had seen. The Carthaginian general soon discovered the superior force of the enemy, composed of the flower of the Romans; while his own army was now but a mixture of various nations, drawn together by necessity, with little experience, and less discipline. The troops that had almost subdued Italy were worn out, or but nominally existing in his army. Conscious of this, his first endeavours were to finish the war, by negociation; and, for this purpose, he desired a meeting with Scipio, to confer upon terms of peace, to which the Roman general assented.

It was in a large plain between the two armies, that the two greatest generals in the world came to an interview: each, for a while, silently regarded his opponent, as if struck with mutual reverence and esteem. Scipio was, in figure, adorned with all the advantages of manly beauty: Annibal bore the marks in his visage of hard campaigns; and the loss of one eye gave a sternness to his aspect. Annibal spoke first, to this effect: "Were I not convinced of the equity of "the Romans, I would not this day have come "to demand peace from the son, over whose "father I have formerly been victorious. Would "to Heaven, that the same moderation, which "I hope inspires us at this day, had prevailed "among us at the beginning of the war; that "you had been content with the limits of your "Italian dominions, and that we had never

"aimed at adding Sicily to our empire; we had "then on both sides spared that blood, which "no rewards from victory can repay. As for "myself, age has taught me the inanity of "triumphs, and the instability of fortune: but "you are young, and perhaps not yet instructed "in the school of adversity; you are now "what I was after the battles of Cannæ and "Thrasymene; you perhaps will aim at splen-"did, rather than at useful, virtues. But consi-"der, that peace is the end at which all victories "ought to aim; and that peace I am sent here "by my country to offer. Do not therefore ex-"pose to the hazard of an hour, that fame "which you have obtained by an age of con-"quest. At present, Scipio, fortune is in your "power; a moment of time may give it to your "enemy. But let me not call myself such: it "is Annibal who now addresses you, Annibal "who esteems your virtues, and desires your "friendship. Peace will be useful to us both. "As for me, I shall be proud of the alliance of "Rome; and you have it in your power to con-"vert an active enemy into a stedfast friend."

—To this Scipio replied, "That as the wars "which he complained of were begun by the "Carthaginians, they ought not to complain of "the consequences: that as to himself he could "never condemn his own perseverance on the "side of justice: that some outrages had been "committed during the late truce, which re-"quired reparation; and which, if consented to, "he was willing to conclude a treaty."

Both sides parted dissatisfied; they returned to their camps to prepare for deciding the controversy by the sword. Never was a more me-

morable battle fought, whether we regard the generals, the armies, the two states that contended, or the empire that was in dispute. The disposition Annibal made of his men is said to have been superior to any even of his former arrangements. He encouraged the various nations of his army, by the different motives which led them to the field; to the mercenaries, he promised a discharge of their arrears, and double pay, with plunder in case of a victory; the Gauls he inspired, by aggravating their natural antipathy to the Romans; the Numidians, by representing the cruelty of their new king; and the Carthaginians by reminding them of their country, their glory, the danger of servitude, and their desire of freedom. Scipio, on the other hand, with a cheerful countenance, desired his legions to rejoice, for that their labours and their dangers were now near at an end; that the Gods had given Carthage into their hands; and that they should soon return triumphant to their friends, their wives, and their children. The battle began with the elephants, on the side of the Carthaginians; these animals being terrified at the cries of the Romans, and wounded by the slingers and archers, turned upon their drivers, and caused much confusion in both wings of their army, in which the cavalry was placed. Being thus deprived of the assistance of the horse, in which their greatest strength consisted, the heavy infantry joined on both sides. The Romans were more vigorous and powerful in the shock; the Carthaginians more active and ready. However, they were unable to withstand the continued pressure of the Roman shields; but at first gave way a little, and

this soon brought on a general flight. The rear guard, which had orders from Annibal to oppose those who fled, now began to attack their own forces; so that the body of the infantry sustained a double encounter, of those who caused their flight, and those who endeavoured to prevent it. At length the general, finding it impossible to reduce them to order, directed that they should fall behind, while he brought up his fresh forces to oppose the pursuers. Scipio, upon this, immediately sounded a retreat, in order to bring up his men a second time in good order. And now the combat began afresh, between the flower of both armies. The Carthaginians, however, having been deprived of the succour of their elephants and their horse, and their enemies being stronger of body, were obliged to give ground. In the mean time, Massinissa, who had been in pursuit of their cavalry, returning, and attacking them in the rear, completed their defeat. A total rout ensued; twenty thousand men were killed in the battle or the pursuit, and as many more were taken prisoners. Annibal, who had done all that a great general and an undaunted soldier could perform, fled with a small body of horse to Adrumetum; where he paused on the instability of fortune, and the ruin of his country.

A peace was the fruit of this victory. The Carthaginians, by Annibal's advice, submitted to the conditions which the Romans dictated, not as rivals, but as sovereigns. By this treaty, they were obliged to quit Spain, and all the islands of the Mediterranean sea. They were bound to pay ten thousand talents in fifty years; to give hostages for the delivery of their ships and their

A. C. 188. U. C. 566.

elephants; to restore Massinissa all the territories that had been taken from him, and not to make war in Africa, but by the permission of the Romans. Thus ended the second Punic war, seventeen years from its commencement. Carthage still continued an empire, but without power to defend its possessions, and only waiting the pleasure of the conqueror, when they should think proper to put a final period to its duration. After the depression of this mighty dominion, the Romans were seldom engaged, except in petty wars, in which they obtained easy victories; whereas before, they had obtained but trifling advantages, from the most dangerous wars. Carthage alone was a rival worthy of Rome; and when the former lost her glory, the latter became great without comparison.

## CHAP. IX.

*From the End of the second Punic War to the Destruction of Carthage.*

BEFORE the conclusion of the second Punic war, the Roman citizens had received distinction only from their abilities, their families, their offices, or their virtues: but upon the conquest of such various countries, so much wealth and so many slaves were introduced, that the manners of the people began to alter. Riches gave them a taste for pleasures unknown before; and the slaves they had taken were put to those offices of labour and husbandry, that had formerly contributed to harden the warrior, and mark the character of Roman simplicity. Their love for their country, and their zeal for the public good, seemed to be exhausted in the long conflict with Annibal: many had given up their whole fortunes to the republic; and not finding that recompence in peace which they expected, they began to seek for gratification by other means, and to forget the tie which bound them to the state, in the resentment they felt against particular individuals who composed it.

The senate, however, prosecuted new wars, rather with a view to keep these turbulent spirits from doing harm to the empire, than to advance its interest. They continued to carry on the Macedonian war against Philip; who had offended, by entering into an alliance with the Carthagi-

nians, during the conquest of Annibal. To this hostility the Romans likewise were not a little incited by the prayers of the Athenians; who from controlling the power of Persia, were now unable to defend themselves. The Rhodians, with Attalus, king of Pergamus, also joined the confederacy against Philip; who was more than once defeated by Galba, the consul. He attempted to besiege Athens, but the Romans obliged him to raise the siege; he then made an effort to take possession of the straits of Thermopylæ, but was driven from them, by Quintus Flaminius, with great slaughter. He next attempted to take refuge in Thessaly, where he was again defeated, with considerable loss, and obliged to beg a peace, which was granted on condition of paying a thousand talents, one half in ready money, and the other half in the space of ten years.

The peace with Philip gave the Romans an opportunity of shewing their generosity, by restoring liberty to Greece, whose institutions they had long admired and followed; and now, from a principle of gratitude, endeavoured to recompense their masters. The Greeks, on the other hand, made them all the return which was in their power; namely, gratitude and praise; and thus ended what was called the first Macedonian war.

During this conflict, the Gauls, who had joined Annibal, received some signal overthrows. The Spaniards also, who had revolted, were quelled by Cato the censor; and the Ligurians were subdued. Nabis, the deposed king of Lacedæmon, opposed the Romans, but was forced to submit. Scarcely, indeed, did any nation

enter the lists against them, without experiencing an overthrow. Antiochus, king of Syria, was a monarch, whose strength and fame stimulated their ambition; and after some embassies on both sides, war was declared against him, five years after the conclusion of the Macedonian war. The pretext of the Romans was, that he had made encroachments upon the Grecian states, who were their allies; and that he had given refuge to Annibal, their inveterate enemy, who had been expelled from Carthage. This Antiochus, surnamed the Great, was one of Alexander's successors. He was bold, ambitious, and master of very extensive dominions, which his personal abilities invigorated and inspired. The Ætolians, who had fondly imagined they should bear sway in Greece, by siding with the Romans, found, too late, that they had only brought themselves to share the general subjection, in which the other states of Greece were now held, under the specious denomination of freedom. In order, therefore, to correct one error by committing another, they invited this prince among them, in the same manner as they had formerly invited the Romans. He accordingly came to their assistance, with an army, but behaved as if he intended to be a spectator, rather than a partner in the war; indulging himself at Ephesus in ease and pleasure. Being apprised of the enemy's approach, he endeavoured to treat for a peace; this not succeeding, he placed his dependence on his maritime forces; but even there his expectations were frustrated, though the great Annibal was his admiral. In the midst of the consternation, occasioned by these misfortunes, he abandoned

Lysimachia, a very strong place; and adding one indiscretion to another, suffered Scipio, brother to the famous Africanus, to pass the Hellespont with his army unmolested.

He again sued for a peace, by offering to quit all his possessions in Europe; and such in Asia as professed alliance to Rome. But the Roman general perceiving his own superiority, was resolved to avail himself of it. Antiochus, thus driven into resistance, for some time retreated before the enemy, till, being pressed hard, near the city of Magnesia, he was forced to draw out his men to the number of seventy thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. Scipio opposed him with forces, as much inferior in number, as they were superior in courage and discipline. Antiochus, therefore, was in a short time entirely defeated; his own chariots, armed with scythes, being driven back upon his men, contributed much to his overthrow. Being thus reduced to the last extremity, he was glad to procure peace of the Romans, upon their own terms; which were, to pay fifteen thousand talents towards the expences of the war; to quit all his possessions in Europe, and likewise all in Asia, on the hither side of Mount Taurus; to give twenty hostages as pledges of his fidelity; and to deliver up Annibal the inveterate enemy of Rome. Lucius Scipio, who conducted this war, with the assistance of his brother Scipio Africanus, obtained the surname of Asiaticus, in consequence of his success.

Meanwhile Annibal, whose destruction was one of the articles of this extorted treaty, endeavoured to escape the menaced ruin. He had been long a wanderer, and an exile from his un-

grateful country: all that prudence and justice could inspire, he had done for the safety of Carthage, even after the unfortunate battle of Zama. Upon his return to his native city, he found the public treasures dissipated by those who pretended to collect them; and, when he attempted to punish their avarice, they accused him to the Romans, of a design to renew the war. This bringing on a demand that he should be delivered up, he resolved to yield to the necessity of the times, and abandoned his country. After various peregrinations, he sought protection at the court of Antiochus, who at first gave him a sincere welcome, and made him admiral of his fleet, in which station he shewed his usual skill in stratagem. But Annibal soon sunk in the Syrian's esteem; for having projected schemes, which that monarch had neither genius to understand, nor talents to execute, he, at last, found himself destined to be given up, in order to propitiate the Romans, and confirm the peace. In order to avoid this dreaded extremity, he departed privately; and, after wandering for a time among petty states, who had neither power nor generosity to protect him, he took refuge at the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia. The Romans discovering the place of his retreat, with a vindictive spirit utterly unworthy of them, sent Æmilius, one of their most celebrated generals, to demand him of this king; who fearing the resentment of Rome, and willing to conciliate their friendship, by this breach of hospitality, ordered a guard to be placed upon Annibal, with an intent to surrender him. Thus implacably persecuted from one country to another, and finding all methods of

safety cut off, he determined to die. Desiring, therefore, one of his followers to bring him poison, which he had ready for this exigence, and while he was preparing to take it, "Let us rid "the Romans," said he, "of their terrors, since "they are unwilling to wait for the death of an "old man like me: there was a time when there "was more generosity among them; there was "a time when they were known to guard their "enemy from poison; and now they basely send "an embassy to seek the life of a banished man, "and to make a feeble monarch break the laws "of hospitality." With these words, he drank the poison, and died, as he had lived, with intrepid bravery.

During these transactions the spirit of dissension seemed to rekindle in Rome, and to blaze with new force. In the third year after the conclusion of the war with Antiochus, the tribunes of the people undertook to accuse Scipio Africanus of defrauding the treasury of the plunder which was taken in war, and of too intimate a correspondence with that king. Accordingly, a day was appointed him to answer for his conduct. Scipio obeyed the summons; but, instead of attempting a defence, reminded his countrymen, that on that very day he had gained the victory of Zama. This remark so strongly struck the assembly of the people, that they all left the tribunes in the Forum, in order to attend Scipio at the capitol, to return their annual thanks to the Gods for such a signal victory. The tribunes finding themselves foiled in this attempt, resolved to accuse him in the senate; and desired that he would exhibit his accounts. Scipio, instead of gratifying them in

this demand, tore his vouchers before their faces, and soon after withdrew to Linturnum, a town on the coast of Campania, where he spent the rest of his life, which was only three years, in peace and privacy; testifying his displeasure against his countrymen, by the epitaph which he ordered to be engraved on his tomb: "Ungrateful countrymen! you shall not possess "my bones."*

The factious spirit once more breaking out in Rome, continued for several years, during all the subsequent wars and victories over the Ligurians, Istrians, Sardinians, Corsicans, and Macedonians; for the Romans soon after entered into a second Macedonian war. This was with Perseus, the son of Philip, who had been compelled to beg peace of the Romans. Perseus, in order to secure the crown, had taken off his brother Demetrius; and upon the death of his father, pleased with the hopes of imaginary triumphs, commenced hostilities against Rome. During the course of this war, which continued about three years, many opportunities were offered him, by the rashness of the Romans, of destroying their army; but being either ignorant or negligent, he spent the time in empty overtures for a peace. At length, Æmilius gave him a decisive overthrow near the river

* To this consummate general, Annibal when in exile paid the following elegant though oblique compliment. Being asked his opinion as to the names of the greatest commanders, and the order in which they ought to stand: "The first," replied Annibal, "is Alexander, the second Pyrrhus, "and the third myself." "And if you had conquered me," rejoined Scipio, "in what rank would you have placed yourself?" "In the first," answered the Carthaginian.

Epirus. He sought for safety by flying into Crete; but being abandoned by all, he was obliged to surrender himself, and to grace the triumph of the Roman general. He was led, with his two sons, before the conqueror's chariot into Rome; while Gentius, king of the Illyrians, and his confederates, in the same manner preceded the chariot of Lucius Anicus, one of the Roman admirals.

These wars, which brought immense riches into the Roman treasury, were no sooner finished, than they found a pretext to enter upon the third and last Punic war. Carthage was now a state that existed only by the mercy of the conquerors, and was to fall at the slightest breath of their indignation. About this time, Massinissa, the Numidian, having made some incursions into a territory claimed by the Carthaginians, they attempted to repel the invasion. This brought on a war between that monarch and them; while the Romans, who pretended to consider their conduct as an infraction of the treaty, sent to make a complaint. The ambassadors, who were employed upon this occasion, finding the city very rich and flourishing, from the long interval of peace which it had enjoyed for nearly fifty years, either from a love of plunder, or from a fear of its growing greatness, insisted much on the policy of war. Among the chief of these was Cato the censor, who never spoke in the senate upon public business, but he ended his speech by inculcating the necessity of destroying Carthage.* It was in vain that he was opposed by Nasica, who with more

* His well-known maxim was, "*Delenda est Carthago!*"

sagacious forecast urged the danger of destroying a rival state, which would be a lasting incentive to Roman discipline. Cato's opinion prevailed, and the senate having a fair pretence to begin, ordered war to be proclaimed, and the consuls set out with a resolution to proceed to the last extremities with this devoted enemy.

The Carthaginians perceived the wisdom of Annibal, who had foreseen the consequences of their conduct; but it was now too late either to profit by his sagacity or his assistance. Affrighted at the Roman armaments, against which they were totally unprepared, they immediately condemned those who had broken the league, and most humbly offered adequate satisfaction. To these submissions, the senate only returned an evasive answer, demanding three hundred hostages within thirty days, as a security for their future conduct, and an implicit obedience to their further commands. With these rigid conditions it was supposed the Carthaginians would not comply; but it turned out otherwise, for this infatuated people, sacrificing every thing to their love of peace, sent their children within the limited time; and the consuls, landing at Utica soon after, were waited upon by deputies from Carthage, to know the senate's further demands, as certain of a ready acceptance. The Roman generals were not a little perplexed in what manner to drive them to resistance; wherefore Censorinus, the consul, commending their diligence, demanded all their arms; but these also, contrary to expectation, they delivered up. At last, it was found that the conquerors would not desist from making de-

mands, while the suppliants had any thing left to supply. They therefore received orders to leave their city, which was to be levelled with the ground; at the same time being allowed to build another in any part of their territories, not less than ten miles from the sea. This severe and despotic injunction they received with all the concern and distress of a despairing people; they implored for a respite from such a hard sentence; they used tears and lamentations: but finding the consuls inexorable, they departed with a gloomy resolution, prepared to suffer the utmost extremities, and to fight to the last for their seat of empire, and the habitations of their ancestry.

A general spirit of resistance seemed to inspire the whole people against their imperious foes; and they, now too late, began to see the danger of riches in a state, when it had no longer power to defend them. Those vessels, therefore, of gold and silver, which their luxury had taken such pride in, were converted into arms, as they had formerly given up their iron, which in their present circumstances, was the most precious metal. The women also parted with their ornaments, and even cut off their hair, to be converted into strings for the bowmen. Asdrubal, who had been lately condemned for opposing the Romans, was now taken from prison to head their army; and such preparations were made, that, when the consuls came before the city, which they expected to find an easy conquest, they met with such repulses, as quite dispirited their forces, and shook their resolution. Several engagements were fought before the walls, generally to the disad-

vantage of the assailants; so that the siege would have been discontinued, had not Scipio Æmilianus, the adopted son of Africanus, who was appointed to command it, used as much skill to save his forces after a defeat, as to inspire them with hopes of ultimate victory. But all his arts would have failed, had he not found means to seduce Pharneas, the master of the Carthaginian horse, who came over to his side. From that time he went on successfully; and, at length the inhabitants were driven into the citadel. He then cut off all supplies of provisions from the country; and next blocked up the haven; but the besieged, with incredible industry, cut out a new passage into the sea, by which they could receive necessaries from the army without. Scipio perceiving this, set upon them in the beginning of the ensuing winter, killed seventy thousand of their men, and took ten thousand prisoners of war. The unhappy townsmen, though now bereft of all external succour, still resolved upon every extremity, rather than submit: but they soon saw the enemy make nearer approaches; the wall which led to the haven was quickly demolished; soon after the Forum was taken, which offered the conquerors a deplorable spectacle of houses nodding to their fall, heaps of men lying dead, or the wounded struggling to emerge from the carnage around them, and deploring their own and their country's ruin. The citadel next surrendered at discretion; and all now, except the temple, was carried, which was defended by deserters from the Roman army, and those who had been most active in undertaking the war. These, however, expecting no mercy, and find-

ing their condition desperate, set fire to the building, and voluntarily perished in the flames. Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general, surrendered himself to the Romans when the citadel was taken; but his wife and two children rushed into the temple while on fire, and expired with their country.

The conflagration was now extended by the merciless conquerors over the whole of this noble city, which being twenty-four miles in compass, the burning continued for seventeen successive days. The senate of Rome, indeed, ordered that it should be levelled with the ground, and interdicted its being rebuilt. The first part of their cruel command was strictly executed; the latter remained in force only for a time. All the cities which assisted Carthage in this war were likewise devoted to the same fate, and the lands belonging to them were given to the friends of the Romans. The other towns of Africa became tributary to Rome, and were governed by an annual prætor; while the numberless captives that were taken in the course of this war were sold as slaves, except some few that were condemned to die by the hands of the executioner. Such was the catastrophe of one of the most renowned cities in the world, for arts, opulence, and extent of dominion: it had rivalled Rome for above a hundred years, and had it been equally martial, it might have gained the superiority. But the grandeur of Carthage was founded on commerce alone, which is ever fluctuating, and, at best, serves but to dress up a nation to invite the conqueror, and to adorn the victim for its fall.

A. C. 146. U. C. 602.

The conquest over Carthage was soon followed by many over other states. Corinth, one of the noblest cities of Greece, in the same year sustained the like fate, being subdued by Mummius, the consul, and completely razed. The pretext for this violence was, that the Achaians had declared war against the Lacedæmonians, who were in alliance with Rome. Metellus, the consul, in consequence of this, drawing his army into Bœotia, overthrew their general Critolaus; and Mummius succeeding him in the command, overthrew Dicas the Achæan general, and demolished Corinth, the spoils of which afterwards not a little contributed to embellish Rome. Spain, likewise, though at first victorious, was soon after entirely subdued. Viriatus, the Spanish commander, who from a shepherd became a robber, and afterwards a general over a numerous body of men like himself, long harassed the Romans; but was at length taken off, by the basest treachery. The Romans, indeed, suffered several overthrows from this brave people; but at last Scipio, who had destroyed Carthage, and, now, like the former of that name, was also surnamed Africanus, being made consul, restored the fortune of his country, and laying siege to Numantia, the strongest city in Spain, the wretched inhabitants, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, fired the city around them, and all, to a man, expired in the flames. Thus Spain became a province belonging to Rome, and was governed in future by two annual prætors. By this severe treatment of the vanquished, the Romans disgraced themselves, and shew how much they

A. C. 132.

had degenerated from the generous lenity of their ancestors. Success indeed had intoxicated them to such a degree, that they already began to consider the world as their own, and to treat other nations not as equals, but as vassals to their pleasure or aggrandisement.

## CHAP. X.

*From the Destruction of Carthage to the perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla.*

THIS haughty and unjust disposition, which now became so conspicuous, in regard to external relations, was accompanied by a corresponding train of private and domestic evils. From this period every noxious principle which tends to divide, enslave, and at last to destroy, took its growth. The Roman power and glory seem now to have reached their acmé: their conquests afterwards might be more numerous, and their dominions more extensive, but their extension was rather an increase of territory than of strength. They now began daily to degenerate from their ancient modesty, temperance, and simplicity of life. The triumphs and the spoils of Asia brought in a taste for splendid expence, and this produced avarice and inverted ambition; so that from henceforward the pen of history appears as if depicting a different nation.

The two Gracchi* were the first who saw this strange corruption among the great, and re-

* The Sempronian family was, though plebeian, one of the most illustrious in the commonwealth. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus had been twice raised to the consulate, was a great general, and had been honoured with two triumphs; but he was still more renowned for his domestic virtues and probity, than for his birth or valour. He married the daughter of the first Africanus, that famous Cornelia who was the pattern of her sex, and the prodigy of her age; and had

solved to repress it, by renewing the Licinian law. This law, which had been openly violated by the nobility for upwards of 250 years, forbade any citizen to possess more than 500 acres of land, and decreed, that the overplus should become the property of the state. Tiberius Gracchus, the elder brother, was a person very distinguished, both for the advantages of his person, and the qualities of his mind. Very different from Scipio, of whom he was the grandson, he seemed more ambitious of power than desirous of glory; and more eager to embrace novelties than to support existing establishments. He was liberal rather from nature than from principle; and his compassion for the oppressed was equal to his animosity against the oppressors: but unhappily his passions, rather

by her several children, of whom three only arrived to maturity of age, Tiberius Gracchus, Caius Gracchus, and a daughter named Sempronia, who was married to the second Africanus. Tiberius, the eldest, was deemed the most accomplished youth in Rome, with respect to the qualities both of body and mind. His extraordinary talents were heightened by a noble air, an engaging countenance, and all those winning graces of nature which recommend merit. He made his first campaigns under his brother-in-law, and distinguished himself, on all occasions, by his courage, and the prudence of his conduct. When he returned to Rome he applied himself to the study of eloquence; and, at thirty years old, was accounted the best orator of his age. He married the daughter of Appius Claudius, who had been formerly consul and censor, and was then prince of the senate. He continued for some time in the sentiments both of his own and wife's family, and supported the interest of the patricians, but without openly attacking the popular faction. It is said that he first conceived an unconquerable hatred against the senate, in consequence of their annulling a treaty with the Numantines, which he had been a party in forming.

than his reason, operated even in his pursuits of virtue; and these frequently drove him beyond the line of duty. His designs in general appear to have been honest; but opposition put his intentions into disorder; and though he began with principles of justice, he was at last obliged to exchange his rectitude for his party. Such was the disposition of the elder Gracchus, who found the lower class of the community ready to second all his proposals. Continual injury and neglect, after sacrificing all to the public, had alienated the hearts of the multitude; but they concealed their hatred, or, perhaps, thought it their duty to suffer; while the senate, unjust, corrupt, and mercenary, were only intent on disguising their internal baseness under the dignity of their conquests abroad. Such was the state of parties, when Tiberius Gracchus procured himself to be chosen tribune of the people. It was he who had formerly attempted to retrench the power of Scipio Africanus; it was he who prevailed for putting in force the Licinian law. But anxious to prevent this law from being wrested to the advantage of the great, as it had hitherto been, he caused it to be enacted also, that one half of the illicit surplus should be given to the children of the transgressor; and the other half distributed to such of the poor as had nothing: and lest any, by purchase, should enlarge their possessions, three officers were appointed, called triumviri, who were to determine and examine the quantity of land occupied by every individual. This, of course, irritated the rich, who endeavoured to persuade the people that the proposer only aimed at disturbing the government, and throwing all things into

confusion. But Gracchus, who was a man of the greatest eloquence of his time, easily wiped off these aspersions; and, in spite of interested opposition, carried his object through popular favour.

The death of Attalus, king of Pergamus, furnished this champion of democracy with a new opportunity of gratifying the meaner part of the people, at the expence of the great. This king had by his last will left the Romans his heirs; and it was now proposed, that the money so devised should be divided among the poor, as well as the lands, which became theirs by the late law of partition. This project revived the dormant flame: the senate assembled in order to concert the most proper method of securing those riches to themselves; and, as they had numerous dependents, who were willing to sacrifice liberty for plenty and ease, these were commanded to be in readiness to intimidate the body of the people, who were attending to the harangues of Tiberius Gracchus, in the capitol. Here, as a clamour was raised by the clients of the great, on one side, and by the favourers of democracy on the other, Tiberius found his speech entirely interrupted, and begged, in vain, to be attended to; till at last, raising his hand to his head, to intimate that his life was in danger, the partisans of the senate perverting his meaning, insinuated that he wanted a diadem. In consequence of this, an uproar spread itself through all ranks of people: the corrupt part of the senate called on the consul to defend the commonwealth by force of arms; but this prudent magistrate declining such violence, Scipio Nasica, kinsman to Gracchus, immediately rose up, and preparing himself for the contest, desired that

all who would defend the dignity and the authority of the laws, should follow him. Upon this, attended by a large body of senators and clients, armed with clubs, he proceeded directly to the capitol, in spite of all resistance. Tiberius, perceiving by the tumult that he was particularly aimed at, endeavoured to fly; and throwing aside his robe, to expedite his escape, attempted to get through the throng; but happening to fall over a person already on the ground, Saturnius, one of his colleagues in the tribuneship, who was of the opposite faction, struck him dead with a piece of a bench; and not less than three hundred of his partisans shared the same fate, being killed in the tumult. Nor did the vengeance of the senate rest here, but extended to numbers of those who were suspected of espousing his cause; many of them were put to death, many were banished, and nothing was omitted to inspire the people with an abhorrence of his crimes, which, however, were either pretended or at best problematical.

These dissensions, though for some time interrupted by a victory gained by Aristonicus, natural brother to the late king of Pergamus, and pretender to the crown, over the Roman consul, Licinius Crassus, were soon renewed. For Aristonicus being overthrown by Perpenna, the consul, and being afterwards besieged in Stratonice, and compelled by famine to surrender, he was, after gracing the conqueror's triumph, strangled in prison by order of the senate. The respite that was given by this conquest, afforded an opportunity to the people of renewing their former animosities, headed by Caius Gracchus, the brother of him who had

paid the forfeit of his life to the love of popularity.

Caius Gracchus was but twenty-one upon the death of his brother Tiberius, and, as he was too young to be much dreaded by the great, so he was at first unwilling to risque their resentment; he therefore lived in retirement, unseen, and almost forgotten. But, while he thus seemed desirous of avoiding popularity, he was, in reality, employing his solitude in the study of eloquence, which was the readiest means to obtain it. At length, when he thought himself qualified to serve his country, he offered himself candidate for the questorship to the army in Sardinia, which he easily obtained. His valour, affability, and temperance in his office, were remarked by all ranks of men. The king of Numidia sending a present of corn to the Romans, ordered his ambassadors to declare that it was entirely as a tribute to the virtues of Caius Gracchus. This message the senate treated with scorn, and ordered the ambassadors to be dismissed with contempt; which so inflamed the resentment of young Gracchus, that he immediately left the army, to complain of the indignity thrown upon his reputation, and to offer himself for the tribuneship of the people. It was then that the great found in this youth, who had been hitherto disregarded upon account of his age, a more formidable enemy than ever his brother had been. His eloquence against the calumnies which were laid to his charge, exceeded whatever had been heard in Rome; and his intrepidity in supporting his pretensions equalled the rest of his virtues. Notwithstanding the warmest opposition from the senate, he was declared tribune, by a

very large majority; and he now prepared to run the same career which Tiberius had gone before him.

His first effort was to have Popilius, one of the most inveterate of his brother's enemies, cited before the people; who, rather than stand the event of a trial, chose to go into voluntary exile. He next procured an edict, granting the freedom of the city to the inhabitants of Latium; and, soon after, to all the people on the hither side the Alps. He fixed a maximum for the price of corn, and procured a monthly distribution of it among the people. He then proceeded to scrutinise the late corruptions of the senate; in which the whole body being convicted of bribery, extortion, and the sale of offices, a law was enacted, transferring the power of judging corrupt magistrates from the senate to the knights, which effected a great alteration in the constitution. The number of these officers, thus placed as inspectors over the conduct of all other magistrates of the state, amounted to three hundred, who were chosen from among the friends of Gracchus. Ever attentive to the good of the commonwealth, he next ordered the highways to be improved and adorned; he caused public granaries to be built, and stored with grain, against times of scarcity; and, to give a pattern of justice to the people, he caused large quantities of corn, which Fabius, the proprætor in Spain, had extorted from his government to be sold, and the money remitted to the injured owners. In short, on whatever side we view the character of this great man, we shall find him just, temperate, wise, active, and seemingly born to restore the ancient simplicity of

Rome, but the attempt, though honourable, was not in the power of any one to accomplish. Principles of government, to obtain validity, must ever be in unison with the moral principles that actuate the community. Rome was now depraved, and nothing could restore it to its primitive innocence.

Gracchus, by these means, however, being grown not only very popular, but very powerful in the state, was become the object to which the senate directed all their resentment. At first, they seemed only to wait till his tribuneship expired, in order to wreak their vengeance with safety; but, contrary to their expectations, he was chosen a second time to that office, A. C. 122. though without the least efforts on his side to get himself re-elected. They therefore resolved to alter their method of proceeding, and endeavoured to oppose his popularity, by setting up a rival. This was Drusus his colleague, who seemed to go even beyond Gracchus in every proposal; and, being secretly encouraged by the senate, so far succeeded in his schemes, as to divide the affections of the people. The jealousy of Gracchus on this occasion quickly blazed out; he treated his colleague with contempt: and, as the senate had foreseen, it caused a very powerful party of his former admirers to declare against him. But the greatest effort to ruin him was yet in reserve. From the time of his return to Rome from Sardinia, he had been elected one of the triumviri, an office instituted by his brother Tiberius, to determine the quantity of land possessed by each individual in the state. In this employment Gracchus, who shewed himself ex-

tremely assiduous, and impressed with the same fraternal spirit of equality, endeavoured to regulate each man's possessions according to law, with inflexible justice. Those who thought themselves aggrieved by his severity, had recourse to Scipio Africanus for redress. Scipio, who had long been an enemy to the Licinian law, was too sensible of the people's power, to oppose it openly; but proceeding with more caution, obtained a new officer to be chosen, whose business it was to settle the claims of individuals amongst each other, before those of the public could be determined by the triumviri. For this purpose, Tuditanus the consul was chosen; who thus having a power of protracting the wished-for division of lands, seemed to bend assiduously to the business for which he was chosen. However, when he could no longer defer the settlement of the lands in question, he pretended to be called off to quell an insurrection in one of the provinces, and thus left the claims and the wishes of the people undecided. An universal clamour was raised against Scipio, by whose artifice this procrastination took place; and one of the tribunes even cited him to appear, and answer for the assassination of Tiberius Gracchus. Scipio, however, disdained to meet the charge; but went home, as some thought, to meditate a speech for the ensuing day; but in the morning was found dead in his bed, and by a mark round his neck, it appeared that he was strangled. The death of this great man produced much suspicion against the leaders of the popular party, a great part of which was directed against Gracchus, who scorned to clear himself from a crime, of which there were no

proofs against him. But willing to turn the thoughts of the people another way, he proposed the rebuilding of Carthage and peopling it from Rome. This scheme was gladly embraced by the people, and six thousand families, with Gracchus at their head, left the city, in order to settle there. But they had scarcely begun to clear away the rubbish, when they were disturbed by several omens, which to superstitious people, was sufficient to check the progress of every undertaking. In fact, much more powerful motives recalled Gracchus to Rome; for his enemies, during his absence, had exerted themselves with effect to blacken his character. In consequence of this, on his return, he found the populace a faithless and unsteady support; they began to withdraw all their confidence from him, and to place it upon Drusus, whose character was unimpeached. It was in vain that he designed new laws in their favour, and called up several of the inhabitants of the different towns of Italy to his support; the senate ordered them all to depart from Rome, and even sent one stranger to prison, whom Gracchus had invited to live with him, and honoured with his table and friendship. To this indignity was shortly after added a disgrace of a more fatal tendency; for, in standing for the tribuneship a third time, he was rejected, through the artifice of his enemies.

The senate no sooner saw Gracchus reduced to a private station, than they determined to ruin him; and deputed Opimus the consul, who was his mortal enemy, to be the instrument of their malignity against him. The consul, who, to the greatest pride, added the utmost cruelty,

undertook the office with alacrity, and first procured those laws to be annulled, which were made for establishing a colony at Carthage. He then proceeded to abrogate all the other laws which had been made during the two tribuneships of Caius, appointing a day for that purpose.

Not satisfied, however, with the protection of all the senate, the knights, and a numerous retinue of slaves and clients, the consul ordered a body of Candians, who were mercenaries in the Roman service, to attend him. Thus guarded, and conscious of the superiority of his force, he insulted Gracchus wherever he met him; but the latter avoided all recrimination; and, as if apprised of the consul's design, would not even wear any kind of arms for his defence. His friend Flaccus, however, a zealous tribune, was not so remiss, but was resolved to oppose party to party; and for this purpose brought up several countrymen to Rome, under a pretence of their seeking employment. When the day for determining the controversy was arrived, the two parties, early in the morning, attended the capitol, where, while the consul was sacrificing, according to custom, one of the lictors taking up the entrails of the beast that was slain, in order to remove them, could not forbear crying out to Flaccus and his adherents, "Ye factious ci-"tizens, make way for honest men." This insult so provoked the party to whom it was addressed, that they instantly fell upon him, and pierced him to death with the writing instruments which they then happened to have in their hands. His murder caused a great disturbance in the assembly; but particularly Gracchus, who saw the consequences that were

likely to ensue, reprimanded his party for giving his enemies such advantage over him; he made many attempts to speak, but could not be heard on account of the tumult; wherefore he was at last obliged to retire, and wait the event. As he was passing through the forum, he stopped before a statue, raised to his father's memory, and, regarding it for some time, he burst into a flood of tears, as if deploring the spirit of the times. His followers were not less moved than he; and all joining in pitying him, vowed never to abandon a man, whose only crime was his affection to his country. In the mean time the senate took every method to alarm the city, and to rouse their apprehensions of danger. The consul was directed to take care that the commonwealth should receive no injury; by which form they invested him with dictatorial power. The dead lictor's corse was carried in triumph through the streets, and exposed to view before the senate-house; while the whole body of the nobles received orders to be in arms the next day, with their slaves and dependents, upon Mount Aventine. On the other side, Flaccus was sedulously employed in collecting the remains of his shattered partisans: but it was not now as in the former commotions of the commonwealth, when the plebeians were to be excited against the patricians, for those distinctions were long broken down,—it was only an opposition of the poor against the rich; and the depressed party were of consequence timorous and unconnected.

Gracchus, who plainly foresaw his weakness, was, however, resolved not to abandon his friends, though he knew them to be unable to

resist his opponents. Notwithstanding, he refused to go armed as the rest, but taking his usual robe, and a short dagger for his defence, in case of being attacked, he prepared to lead his followers to Mount Aventine. There he learned, that proclamation had been made by the consuls, "that whoever should bring either "his head, or that of Flaccus, should receive "its weight in gold as a reward." It was to no purpose that he sent the youngest son of Flaccus, who was yet a child, with proposals for an accommodation. The senate and the consuls, who were sensible of their superiority, rejected all his offers, and resolved to punish his offence with nothing less than death; and in order to weaken his party, they offered pardon to all who should immediately abandon him. This produced the desired effect; for he was soon left with very inferior forces. He now resolved to wait upon the senate in person; but his friends would not permit him, through an apprehension of losing their commander. The child of Flaccus was, therefore, sent once more to demand peace; but Opimus, the consul, who thirsted for slaughter, ordered the boy to prison, and leading his forces up to Mount Aventine, fell upon the populace with ungovernable fury; and a terrible slaughter ensued. Flaccus attempted to find shelter in a ruinous cottage, but being discovered was slain, with his eldest son. Gracchus, at first, retired to the temple of Diana, where he was resolved to die by his own hand, but was prevented by two of his faithful friends and followers, Pomponius and Lucinius, who forced him to seek safety by flight. Accordingly he made the best of his way to cross a bridge, that

led from the city, still attended by his two generous friends, and a Grecian slave, whose name was Philocrates; but his pursuers pressed upon him from behind, and when come to the foot of the bridge, he was obliged to turn and face the foe. His two friends were soon slain defending him against the crowd; and he was forced to take refuge, with his slave, in a grove beyond the Tiber, which had long been dedicated to the Furies. Here finding himself surrounded on every side, and no way left of escaping, he prevailed upon his slave to kill him, who immediately after butchered himself, and fell down upon the body of his beloved master. The pursuers coming up, cut off the head of Gracchus, and placed it as a trophy upon a spear.

A. C. 120. U. C. 628. Thus died Caius Gracchus, about ten years after his brother Tiberius, and six after he began to aspire to power, and to court popularity. He has been frequently accused of sedition; but from what we know of his character, the disturbance of public tranquillity was rather owing to his opposers, than to him; since the efforts of the latter were made in vindication of a law, to which the senate had assented; and which they afterwards wished to disannul, by the introduction of an armed force, that gave a most irrecoverable blow to the constitution. Whether the Gracchi were actuated by motives of ambition or of patriotism, in the promulgation of these laws, it is impossible to determine; but certain it is, from what appears, that all justice was on their side, and all injury on that of the senate. In fact, this body once so venerable, was now

only to be distinguished from the rest of the people by their superior luxuries; and ruled the commonwealth by the weight of that authority which is gained from riches, and a number of mercenary dependencies. The venal and the base were attached to them from motives of self-interest, and they who still ventured to be independent were borne down, and entirely lost in the infamous majority. In short, the empire had fallen under the domination of an hateful aristocracy; and nothing can be more dreadful to a thinking mind, than the government of Rome from this period, till it found refuge under the mild but prudent despotism of Augustus.

Notwithstanding, however, the gross depravity and corruption which characterised the Romans at home, in their foreign transactions they still supported the glory of their name. Though their liberties were nearly lost, they were avariciously grasping at new dominions. The Belearic islands were subdued. The Allobroges, who inhabited the country now called Savoy, were conquered by Domitius Ænobarbus, and annexed to the empire. Gallia Narbonensis was also reduced into a province. The Scordisci, a people inhabiting Thrace, though at first successful, were at last overcome; and Jugurtha, king of Numidia, was totally overthrown. The history of this last war, as it brings new actors on the stage, who afterwards performed very distinguished parts, must be somewhat dilated on.

Jugurtha was grandson to the famous Massinissa, who sided against Annibal with Rome. He was educated with the two young princes, who were left to inherit the kingdom, and being

superior in abilities to both, and greatly in favour with the people, he murdered Hiempsal, the eldest son, and made the same attempt on Adherbal the younger, who escaped, and fled to the Romans for succour. Whereupon Jugurtha, being sensible how much avarice and injustice had crept into the senate, sent his ambassadors with large presents to Rome, who so successfully prevailed, that the senate decreed him half the kingdom, which he had thus acquired by murder and usurpation, and sent ten commissioners to divide it between him and Adherbal. Not satisfied even with this, he contrived at length to murder Adherbal, and to seize the whole. The people of Rome, who had still some generosity remaining, unanimously complained of his treachery; the senate alone, who had been bribed to silence, continued for a while in suspense. However, a consul was sent at last with a powerful army, to execute justice on the murderer; but he too being also infected with the avarice of the times, suffered himself to be bribed; and, suspending his operations, made overtures for peace.

The people therefore more enraged than before, procured a decree, that Jugurtha should be summoned in person before them, upon the public faith of the state, in order to give an account of all such as had accepted bribes. Jugurtha made no great difficulty in throwing himself upon the clemency of Rome, and soon after appeared before the people in a suppliant manner, and in a dress corresponding with his situation. But, instead of discovering those who were bribed, he only set about renewing the evil complained of: and being sensible that every thing was

venal at Rome, without much endeavouring to influence any by the justice of his cause, he took the more certain methods of interesting them by the distribution of his riches.

The people finding that it was impossible to convict their magistrates, by drawing evidence against them from their corruption, soon ordered Jugurtha to quit Rome. As he had visited that city on the faith of the state, he was protected till he returned to his own dominions; but, in the mean time, Albinus the consul was sent with an army to traverse his designs. The first operations of the Roman general were attended with success; and Jugurtha finding his own inability to oppose him in the field, endeavoured to circumvent him in the cabinet. New proposals for peace were made on his side; he was every day offering himself up as a prisoner, and yet every day securing his power in the state. Albinus thus saw himself perplexed by treaties, which he could not comprehend; and the time of his command almost insensibly elapsed, without having struck any important blow. Being obliged to return, to attend the election of magistrates at Rome, he left the direction of the army to Aulus, his brother, a person every way unequal to the command. His avarice induced him to lay siege to Suthul, a place almost impregnable by nature, and only inviting the enemy, because it contained the treasure of the king. Jugurtha, conscious of the strength of the place, suffered Aulus to amuse himself before it; and, with a consummate spirit of intrigue, at one time pretending fear, at another, offering terms of accommodation, but still lavishing his bribes even to the

meanest centurion, he led his antagonist into such straits, that he was finally compelled to hazard a battle upon disadvantageous terms; and his whole army, to avoid being cut to pieces, was obliged to pass under the yoke.

Metellus, the succeeding consul, found affairs in this condition, upon his arrival in Numidia; officers without confidence, an army without discipline, and an enemy ever watchful, and ever intriguing. However, by his great attention to business, and by an integrity that shuddered at corruption, he soon began to retrieve the affairs of Rome, and the credit of the army. In the space of two years, Jugurtha was overthrown in several battles, forced from his own dominions, and constrained to negociate in earnest for a peace, which Metellus offered to grant, upon condition that he should first deliver up his elephants and arms. With this the Numidian prince complied, and they were delivered up accordingly. He was then commanded to pay two hundred thousand pounds weight of silver, to defray the expences of the war: this was immediately paid down. The deserters were next ordered to be given up: which also was complied with. At length, the Roman general insisted that Jugurtha should surrender his person, and put himself upon his trial at Rome. With this he refused to comply, though circumvented in having already yielded so much; and thus the treaty being broken, both sides resolved once more to attempt the hazards of the war. All things, however, promised Metellus an easy and a certain victory; but the time of his consulate being almost expired, another general reaped the harvest of glory which his in-

dustry had sown. This was Caius Marius, who had been sent with him as his lieutenant in the war; a commander who became afterwards the glory and the scourge of Rome. He was born in a village near Arpinum, of poor parents, who gained their living by their labour; and as he had been bred up in a participation of their toils, his manners were as rude as his countenance was forbidding. He was a man of extraordinary stature, incomparable strength, and undaunted bravery. He entered early into the service of his country, and was, from the beginning, remarkable for his exact observance of discipline, and his implicit obedience to those in command. He sought, upon every occasion, dangers equal to his courage: the longest marches, and the most painful fatigues of war, were easy to one bred up in penury and labour. He had already passed through the meaner gradations of office, and each seemed conferred upon him as the reward of some signal exploit. When he stood for the office of military tribune, though his person was unknown, his actions were familiar to the multitude. When elected to that charge, his general found his merit and assistance so great, that he seconded him, with his interest, in procuring him to be made a tribune of the people. It was in this station that his ambition began to appear, and his detestation of the senate, whose vices, indeed, deserved his enmity, became conspicuous. Not to be intimidated by their threats, he boldly arraigned their corruption, even in the senate-house; and when Metellus, who till then had patronised and raised him, disapproved his zeal, he even threatened to commit him to prison. Never-

theless, being afterwards sent under him as his lieutenant into Numidia, Metellus preferred the interest of his country to private resentment, and trusted Marius with the most important concerns of the war. This confidence was not misplaced; Marius acquitted himself in every action with such prudence and resolution, that he was considered at Rome as second in command, but first in experience and resolution. It was in this situation of affairs, that Metellus, as has been said, was obliged to solicit at Rome for a continuation of his command; when Marius ungratefully resolved to obtain it for himself, and thus acquire the glory of putting an end to the war. To accomplish this, he privately inveighed against Metellus by his emissaries at Rome: he insinuated among the people, that the war was prolonged, only to lengthen the consul's command; and asserted, that with half the army he would make Jugurtha a prisoner. By such professions as these, having excited a spirit of discontent against Metellus, and brought over a party to his own interest, he was permitted to stand for the consulship, A. C. 106. which he obtained, contrary to the expectation and influence of the higher orders.

Marius being thus invested with the supreme power of managing the war, shewed himself every way fit for the commission. His vigilance was equal to his valour; and he quickly made himself master of the cities which Jugurtha had yet remaining in Numidia. This prince, finding he had no longer a capacity to defend himself, was obliged to have recourse for assistance to Bocchus, king of Mauritania, to

whose daughter he was married. A battle soon after ensued, in which the Numidians surprised the Roman camp by night, and gained a temporary advantage. However it was but of short continuance; for Marius soon after overthrew them in two signal engagements, in one of which not less than ninety thousand of the African army were slain. Bocchus now finding the Romans too powerful to be resisted, did not think it expedient to hazard his own crown, to protect that of his ally; he therefore determined to make peace, upon whatever conditions he might obtain it: and accordingly sent to Rome, imploring its protection and friendship. The senate received the ambassadors with their usual haughtiness; but after some time, they were given to understand, that the delivering up of Jugurtha to the Romans, would, in some measure, conciliate their favour, and soften their resentment. At first, the pride of Bocchus struggled against such a proposal; but a few interviews with Sylla, who was quæstor to Marius, reconciled him to this treacherous measure. At length, therefore, Jugurtha was given up, and carried by Marius to Rome, loaded with chains, a deplorable instance of blasted ambition. He did not long survive his overthrow, being cruelly condemned by the senate to be starved to death in prison, a short time after he had adorned the triumph of the conqueror.

Scarcely was an end put to the Jugurthine war, when news was brought to Rome, that an incredible number of barbarians from the north, were pouring into the Roman dominions, and threatening Italy with slaughter and desolation. The eyes of all men were turned on Marius on

this emergency, and, contrary to the constitutions of the state, which required an interval of ten years, he was made a second time consul. The people he was to oppose were the Cimbri and Teutones, who had left their forests, to the number of three hundred thousand men, in order to seek new habitations in the fruitful vallies of Italy. They had, some time before, invaded Gaul, where they committed great ravages, and defeated several Roman armies that were sent against them. Marius, however, was completely successful. He declined fighting, till their force was weakened by delay; but afterwards engaging them as they were passing the Alps, in three separate bodies, a bloody battle ensued, which lasted two days. In this the Romans were victorious, and Theutobocchus, the king of the Teutones, was taken prisoner, with the loss of an hundred and fifty thousand men. But, notwithstanding the Teutones were thus defeated, the army of the Cimbri remained entire, and had actually passed the Alps, after having put Catulus, the Roman consul, to flight. Marius, however, being made consul a fifth time, for the people had continued him in office during the whole of the war, gave them a dreadful overthrow. An hundred and forty thousand of these barbarians were slain, and sixty thousand taken captive. Their wives, during the engagement, fought furiously in chariots by the sides of their husbands; and, at last, when they saw the fortune of the field decided, slew their children; and then, with desperate intrepidity, fell by mutual wounds.

A. C. 101. U. C. 647.

Marius, by these victories, having become

very formidable to distant nations in war, soon after grew much more dangerous to his fellow-citizens in peace. Metellus, from being his first patron and promoter, was long grown hateful to him, for his superior influence in the senate; so that he earnestly wished to have him banished from Rome. To effect this, he suborned one Saturninus, who had fraudulently possessed himself of the tribuneship, to prefer a law for the partition of such lands as had been recovered in the late war, and to oblige the senators to take a solemn oath for putting it into execution, in case it was passed. The law was soon enacted, by the interest of Marius; but when the senate came to confirm the observance of it, Metellus, who, considered it as a renewal of the ancient disturbances which had been so fatal to the constitution, endeavoured to persuade them to reject the measure with disdain. At first they seemed inclined to follow his advice: but the influence of his rival being superior, they gave way, and Metellus was obliged to go into voluntary exile.

This success only served to increase the arrogance of Saturninus. Being made a tribune a third time, he filled the city with clamour and commotion. Memmius, who was of the opposite party, was killed in one of these frays, as he canvassed for the consulship; and Glaucius, the prætor, was tumultuously chosen in his stead. This seemed as a signal for a general encounter. The senate were resolved to curb the insolence of the tribunes; and the consuls were ordered, as in dangerous times, to provide for the safety of the commonwealth. Marius, who was one of them, found himself in the disagreeable situa-

tion of heading a strong body of the senators and patricians, against those very people whom his own intrigues had put into commotion. Saturninus and his followers were forced into the capitol, where, for want of water, they were compelled to yield. Marius still wished to save them, but was unable: a large body of Roman knights broke into the forum, and cut them to pieces; while the prevailing party, elated with their success, recalled Metellus from exile.

Marius being thus doubly mortified by the demolition of his party, and the restoration of his rival, left Rome, under pretence of performing a vow; but, in reality, with hopes of kindling up new wars in Asia, where alone his military talents could have scope for exertion. With this view, he went to the court of Mithridates, at that time the most powerful monarch of the East, hoping either to be dismissed with scorn, or received with hospitality. In either case he expected to find his account: if injuriously dismissed, Marius would have a colour for declaring war against him; if kindly received, he would be in a better condition to judge the strength of his enemy. Mithridates received him with great kindness, and dismissed him, laden with presents, to Rome.

Meanwhile the strength which Marius had given the popular party was not to be destroyed by a single blow: Drusus the tribune, who opposed the popularity of Gracchus, seemed now determined to pursue his example. After much tergiversation in principles and objects, this man threatened the great with the revival of the Licinian law; and that the allies and confederates of Italy, who were the present possessors, might

share an equivalent to what this law was likely to deprive them of, he gave them hopes of being admitted denizens of Rome. These promises did not fail to produce their effect; the Latin towns began to look upon him as their protector, and came in crowds to the city to support him. Great contentions arose in consequence of his endeavours. Deliberation had been long banished from the assemblies of the people; their laws were enacted or rejected by clamour, violence, and sedition. On one of these occasions, Drusus, being warmly engaged in promoting the law for enlarging the freedom of the city, was stabbed by an unknown person, who left his poignard in the wound: Drusus had just strength enough to avow with his dying breath, the integrity of his intentions; and that there was no man in the commonwealth more sincerely attached to its interests.

The Italians being thus frustrated in their attempt to gain the freedom of Rome, by the death of their champion, resolved upon obtaining by force, what the senate seemed to refuse them as a favour. This gave rise to the Social war, in which most of the states of Italy entered into a confederacy against Rome, in order to obtain a redress of their manifold grievances. Messengers and hostages were privately sent and interchanged among them; and upon having their claims rejected by the senate, they soon broke out into open rebellion. The state now saw a hundred thousand of its soldiers turned against itself, led on by approved commanders, and disciplined in the Roman manner. To oppose these, an equal number of men was raised by the senate,

A. C. 90. U. C. 658.

and the conduct of the war committed to the consuls, with whom were united Marius, Sylla, and the most experienced generals of the time. The war commenced with great animosity on either side, but the Romans seemed to have the disadvantage at first. Rutilius, the consul, fell into an ambuscade, and was slain. Upon this defeat, the army which he conducted was given to Marius, who rather might be said, not to forfeit his ancient fame, than to acquire new reputation by his conduct.

After a lapse of two years, the Social war having continued to rage with doubtful success, the senate began to reflect, that, whether conquered or conquerors, the Roman power would equally be annihilated. In order therefore to soften their compliance by degrees, they granted the freedom of the city to such of the Italian states as had not revolted; and then offered it to such as would soonest lay down their arms. This unexpected generosity had the desired effect; the allies, with mutual distrust, offered to treat separately: the senate took them one by one into favour, but gave the freedom of the city in such a manner, that, not being impowered to vote until all the other tribes had given their suffrages, they acquired very little weight in the constitution.

This destructive war being concluded, which, according to Paterculus, consumed above three hundred thousand of the flower of Italy, the senate began to think of turning their arms against Mithridates, the most powerful and warlike monarch of the East, whose dominion now extended over Cappadocia, Bithynia, Thrace, Macedon, and all Greece. He was able to bring

two hundred and fifty thousand infantry into the field, and fifty thousand horse: he had also a vast number of armed chariots; and in his ports, four hundred ships of war. Such power, joined to so great riches, served only the more to invite the ambition of Rome; they but desired a pretence for a war, and that was easily found from his having invaded and overcome many states that were in alliance with, and under the protection of, the Roman people.

Marius was extremely anxious to obtain the command in the expedition against Mithridates; but Sylla being just chosen consul, as a recompense for his services in the Social war, and his fame beginning to equal that of Marius, he was with general consent appointed to conduct the Asiatic war. This general, who now began to take the lead in the commonwealth, was born of a patrician family, one of the most illustrious in Rome: his person was elegant, his air noble, his manners easy, and apparently sincere: he loved pleasure, but glory still more; fond of popularity, he desired to please all the world; for which purpose he talked of himself with diffidence, and of every body else with the highest commendations; he was liberal, and even prevented those requests which modesty hesitated to make; while, at the same time, he stooped even to an acquaintance with the meanest soldiers, whose manners he sometimes imitated, in order to gain their affections. In short, he was a Proteus, who could adapt himself to the inclination, pursuits, follies, or wisdom of those he conversed with, while he had no real character of his own. His first rise was to be quæstor, or treasurer, of the army under Marius in Numidia; where by

courage and dexterity he contributed greatly to obtain those advantages which ensued. He was afterwards chosen proconsul in the Social war, where his actions entirely eclipsed those of every other commander; and he was in consequence of them now appointed to the government of Asia Minor, in opposition to the claims of Marius.

There were several incentives to the jealousy which Marius now entertained against Sylla. The former began to consider this preference as an unjust partiality in favour of his rival, and a tacit insult upon all his former victories. He could not help thinking, that his reputation entitled him to the first offer in all the employments of the state, and he concluded upon depriving Sylla of his new command. To this end, he attached to his interest one Sulpicius, a tribune of the people, but chiefly noted for his enmity to Sylla; a man equally eloquent and bold, of great riches but corrupt manners, and rather dreaded than esteemed by the people. The first effect of the conjunction of these ambitious men, was to gain over the Italian towns to their party; and for this purpose they preferred a law, that these should vote, not in the rear of the other tribes, but indiscriminately with the rest. This law was as warmly opposed by the citizens of Rome, as it was resolutely defended by Marius and Sulpicius, backed by the states of Italy. A tumult ensued, as usual, in which many were slain on both sides.

This commotion was scarcely appeased, when another assembly of the people was proposed, for passing the law, contrary to the command of the consuls. A more violent uproar than even the former took place in consequence, in

which Sylla's son-in-law was slain; while Sylla himself, being pursued by the multitude, was at last obliged to take refuge in the house of his enemy Marius; and by the laws of hospitality, which were still reverenced in Rome, saved from their fury. Finding the opposite faction prevail, Sylla instantly quitted Rome, and went to the army he had commanded during the Social war; and which was appointed to accompany him upon the expedition into Asia. In the mean time, Marius and Sulpicius carried all before them; the law for giving the Italians a full participation of the freedom of the city, passed without opposition; and by the same law it was enacted, that the command of the army appointed to oppose Mithridates, was to be transferred from Sylla to Marius.

Immediately on this, Marius sent down officers from Rome, to take the command in his name; but Sylla had taken care to secure the favour of the army, with whom he had already gained so many signal victories, and who were entirely devoted to his will. Instead, therefore, of obeying the orders of Marius, they slew the officers, and then entreated their general that he would lead them directly to execute vengeance upon all his enemies at Rome. In the mean time Marius, being informed of this, was not slow in making reprisals upon such of Sylla's friends as fell into his hands. This produced new murmurs in Sylla's camp; the army insisted upon being led to the capital, and their general, who was naturally vindictive, at length determined to comply.

Sylla's army, amounting to six legions, in general seemed animated with the resentment of

their leader, and breathed nothing but slaughter and revenge. However there were a few yet remaining, who, even in this time of general corruption, could not think of turning their arms against their native city, but quitted the camp and fled. Thus a strange migration of different parties was seen; some flying from Rome to avoid the resentment of Marius, and others deserting from the camp, not to be accomplices in the guilt of Sylla. Nevertheless the army continued to advance: it was to no purpose that the prætors went out from the city in form to interdict its further progress; the soldiers broke the ensigns of their office, and tore their purple robes with derision. The senate next sent deputies to lay an injunction on Sylla not to advance within five miles of Rome. The deputies were for some time amused by Sylla; but they scarcely returned to give an account of their commission, when he arrived with all his forces at the gates of the city. His soldiers entered sword in hand, as into a place taken by storm. A. C. 87. Marius and Sulpicius, at the head of a tumultuary body of their partisans, attempted to oppose their entrance; and the citizens, who feared being plundered, threw down stones and tiles from the tops of the houses upon the intruders. So unequal a conflict lasted longer than could have been expected; but, at length, Marius and his party were obliged to seek safety by flight, after having vainly offered liberty to all the slaves who should assist them in this emergency.

Sylla, finding himself master of the city, placed bodies of soldiers in different parts, to prevent pillage and disorder. He even punished

some severely for entering houses by force, and spent the night in visiting their quarters, and restraining their impetuosity. The next morning he began by modelling the laws so as to favour his own violation of them, and to repeal all that had been done by his opponents. He likewise passed a decree, whereby Marius Sulpicius, and ten other leading men, were declared enemies to their country, in consequence of which it was lawful for any person to kill them.

Having thus brought the laws to second his ambition, he caused the goods of the proscribed to be confiscated, and then sent troops into all parts to apprehend them. Marius escaped, but Sulpicius was found in the marshes of Laurentium; and his head being cut off, was fixed upon the rostrum at Rome. Sylla having thus, as he supposed, entirely restored peace to the city, departed upon his expedition against Mithridates, hoping to give new vigour to his designs, by the wealth and honours which he expected to reap in the East.

But while Sylla was intent only in counteracting the measures of Marius, he had overlooked a very formidable opponent, who was daily growing into popularity and power at Rome. This was Cornelius Cinna, born of a patrician family, but strongly attached to the people from motives of ambition. He was a man eager after glory, but incapable of patiently waiting its regular approach: rash, hot, and obstinate, but, at the same time, bold and enterprising, he was ambitious to become a demagogue, because he could sway the senate. He therefore offered himself for the consulship, in opposition to the interests of Sylla; and either by intrigue or popularity, he carried it.

Soon after Cinna was invested with his new dignity, he unmasked himself; he boasted, that he would annul all the laws which had been lately made in favour of the patricians, and accordingly began by endeavouring to attach the Italians firmly to his interest. This was only to be effected, by giving them an equal participation in the freedom of the city, of which Sylla had lately deprived them. He, therefore, sent his emissaries among the country states, desiring their attendance at Rome upon a certain day, and enjoining them to conceal swords under their robes. Thus, when he had prepared a party to support his pretensions, he publicly proposed a law, by which the votes of the democratic interest was sure to preponderate over the patrician. To propose such a law at this time, was, in effect, to declare a war. An engagement ensued, in which the Italians, being previously armed, were victorious for a while; but Octavius, the other consul, coming with a powerful body of Sylla's friends to oppose them, soon turned the fortune of the day, and obliged the Italians to quit the city.

Cinna, though thus defeated in his purpose, had, notwithstanding, the pleasure of finding all the states of Italy strongly united in his favour, from the efforts he had made in their behalf; and having, by various artifices, stimulated them to a general insurrection, he began to make levies both of troops and money. In this manner a powerful army was soon raised; and Cinna, as consul, was, without opposition, placed at its head. In the mean time, the senate, who were apprised of those violent proceedings, summoned him to take his trial; but not appearing, he was degraded from his rank as a citizen; de-

prived of his office of consul, and Lucius Merula, priest of Jupiter, elected in his stead. Such indignities, however, only served to increase his diligence and inflame his animosity. He appeared before a body of the Roman forces that were encamped at Capua, in a humble and imploring manner, without any of the ensigns of his office. He entreated them, with tears and protestations, not to suffer the people of Rome to fall a sacrifice to the tyranny of the great; he invoked the Gods who punished injustice, to judge of the rectitude of his intentions; and so far prevailed upon the soldiers, that they unanimously resolved to espouse his cause. Thus his strength daily increased; several of the senators, who were wavering before, now came over to his side; and what was equal to an army in itself, tidings were brought, that Marius, escaping from a thousand perils, was with his son upon the road to make a common cause with him. . . .

This great general, at the age of seventy, after numberless victories, and six consulates, had wandered for some time as an outcast from society, and in peril every hour of falling into the hands of his enemies, whose pursuit was still as warm, as their wrath was unabated.

Thus encompassed with dangers, he was obliged to conceal himself in the marshes of Minturnum, where he continued a whole night in a quagmire. At break of day he left this dismal place, and made towards the sea-side, in hopes of finding a ship to facilitate his escape; but being known and discovered by some of the inhabitants, he was conducted to a neighbouring town with a halter round his neck, and, while still covered over with mud, sent to prison.

The governor of the place, willing to conform to the orders of the senate, soon after sent a Cimbrian slave to dispatch him; but the barbarian no sooner entered the dungeon for this purpose, but he stopped short, intimidated by the dreadful visage and awful voice of the victim, who sternly demanded, if he had the presumption to kill Caius Marius? The slave, unable to reply, threw down his sword, and, rushing back from the prison, cried out, that he found it impossible to destroy him! The governor, considering the fear of the slave as an omen in the unhappy exile's favour, gave him once more his freedom; and, commending him to his fortune, provided him with a ship to convey him from Italy. He from thence made the best of his way to the island of Ænaria, and sailing onward, was forced by a tempest upon the coast of Sicily. A Roman quæstor, who happened to be at the same place, resolved to seize him; by which he lost sixteen of his crew, who were killed in their endeavours to cover his retreat to the ship. He afterwards landed in Africa, near Carthage, and seated himself in a melancholy mood among the ruins of that desolated place. He soon, however, received orders from the prætor, who governed there, to retire. Marius, who recollected his having once served this man, when in necessity, could not suppress his chagrin at finding ingratitude in every quarter of the world; and preparing to obey, desired the messenger to tell his master, that he had seen Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage, intimating the greatness of his own fall, by the desolation that was spread around him. He then embarked once more, and not knowing where to land without encountering an enemy, spent the winter at

sea, expecting every hour the return of a messenger from his son, whom he had sent to solicit the protection of an African prince, named Mandrastal. After long expectation, however, instead of the messenger, his son arrived, having with difficulty escaped from the inhospitable court of that monarch. It was in this situation, that they accidentally heard of the activity of Cinna in their favour, and accordingly made the best of their way to join him.

Cinna, upon being apprised of their approach, sent his lictors, with all other marks of distinction, to receive them; but Marius would not accept of these instances of respect, as being ill suited to his abject situation. His beard was long and neglected, his pace slow and solemn, and all his actions shewed a mind strongly actuated by resentment, and meditating revenge. Five hundred of the principal citizens of Rome went to congratulate his return; a considerable number of veterans, who had fought under his standard, came to offer him their service; and, to increase his forces still more, he proclaimed freedom to all slaves who should join him. His first operation was to take the city of Ostia by storm; he then advanced with his whole army, and posted himself upon the Janiculum, a hill that overlooked Rome, where he was joined by Cinna, with an army as numerous as his own; and being animated with the same spirit, they resolved to lay siege to their native city.

The senate and consuls were now driven almost to despair. Sylla was at a distance, and Cneius Pompeius, who commanded an army near Rome, was so equivocal in his conduct, that neither side could rely upon him whom

they both equally feared. They therefore sent to Metellus, then lying with a body of troops among the Samnites; but his soldiers, instead of granting them any aid, soon after joined Marius. Thus deserted by all, they daily saw the towns about the city taken and plundered, and great numbers of slaves every hour deserting to the enemy. In this exigence, they had no other resource but submission: they accordingly resolved to send ambassadors to the two generals, assuring them of their ready acquiescence, and desiring them to enter the city peaceably, and to spare their country. Cinna, however, refused to grant any audience, till he was restored to the consulship, when he received the ambassadors of the senate in form. They invited him into the city, and requested him to undertake the duties of his office; they intreated him to regard his countrymen with tenderness, and endeavoured to obtain from him an oath, that he would put no man to death, but after a legal manner, and conformably to the ancient usages of Rome. Cinna refused the oath, but promised, that he would not willingly cause any man's death. During this conference, Marius continued standing by the consul's tribunal, observing a profound silence; but his furious air, and eyes glancing with fire, were but too sure presages of the carnage he meditated.

Cinna and Marius soon presented themselves at the gates of the city, at the head of their troops. The former boldly entered, accompanied by his guards; but Marius stopped short, alleging that, having been banished by a public decree, it was necessary to have another to authorise his return. It was thus that he desired

to give his sanguinary designs the appearance of justice; and, while he meditated the destruction of thousands, to pretend an implicit veneration for the laws. In pursuance of his request, an assembly of the people being called, they began to reverse his banishment; but they had scarce gone through three of the tribes, when, incapable any longer of curbing his passion for revenge, he entered the city at the head of his guards, and massacred all who had been obnoxious to him, without remorse or pity: Octavius, the consul, was assassinated in his chair of office; Merula, who had been his colleague in the room of Cinna, killed himself to avoid falling by the enemy; Caius and Lucius Julius, Serranus, Lentulus, Numitorius, and Bebius, all senators of the first rank, were butchered in the streets, their heads placed upon the rostrum, and their bodies given to be devoured by dogs: many more shared the same fate. The blood-hounds of Marius, breathing slaughter and vengeance, stabbed fathers of families in their own houses; violated the chastity of matrons; and carried away their children by force. Several who sought to propitiate the tyrant's rage, were murdered in his presence; many of those who had never offended him were put to death; and, at last, even his own officers could not approach him but with terror.

Having in this manner punished his enemies, he next abrogated all the laws which were made by his rival, and then created himself consul with Cinna. Thus gratified in his two favourite passions, vengeance and ambition, having once saved his country, and now deluged it with blood, at last, as if willing to crown the pile of

slaughter which he had made, with his own body, he died the month after, aged upwards of seventy, not without suspicion of having hastened his end, which it would have been happy for mankind, and propitious to his own fame, had it happened more early.

In the mean time these melancholy accounts were brought to Sylla, who had performed many signal exploits against Mithridates. That monarch having caused an hundred and fifty thousand Romans, who were in his dominions, to be slain in cold blood, next sent his general Archelaus to oppose Sylla; but he was defeated near Athens with the loss of an incredible number of his forces. Another battle followed, by which the Roman general recovered all the countries that had been usurped by Mithridates; so that both parties were now inclined to an accommodation; Mithridates, induced by his losses, and Sylla, by a desire of returning home, to take vengeance on his enemies in Rome.

A peace was accordingly soon after concluded, the principle articles of which were, that Mithridates should defray the charges of the war; and should keep within his own hereditary dominions. Thus having, in less than three years, brought the Asiatic war to an honourable conclusion, Sylla prepared for his return; previously informing the senate by letter, of all the great services he had done the state; and the ungrateful return he had received from such as envied his fortune. The senate, who were now to be considered rather as a party formed by Marius, than as the independent protectors of Rome, greatly dreaded the effects of Sylla's indignation. They already anticipated the

slaughters he was about to make, and therefore sent to treat with him; offering to comply with every reasonable demand. They even invited Cinna to resign his power, and to join with them in deprecating Sylla's anger, by timely submission.

Cinna, however, knew how little mercy he had to expect from his opponent; and, instead of obeying the senate, returned them an evasive answer; but in the mean time, proceeded to raise forces, and to oppose Sylla even in Asia, by sending an army thither, to attack Mithridates, under the command of Valerius Flaccus, his colleague in the consulship. But, as this leader was inexperienced in the field, Fimbria, an old soldier of reputation, was sent as lieutenant, with directions to correct, by his experience, the too great impetuosity of the general. They soon, however, began to differ; and the breach widening every day, the consul thought proper to depose Fimbria from his command. Fimbria, instead of submitting to his superior, brought his cause before the army: a general mutiny ensued; the consul attempted to escape; but, being discovered at the bottom of a well, was dragged out and murdered by his own soldiers. In the mean time, Fimbria taking the command of the army, led it against Mithridates, over whom he gained a signal victory; and might have completed his triumph over that monarch, but that the same disobedience of which he was guilty to his own commander, was practised by his soldiers against himself; for, shortly after, at Sylla's approach, his troops all deserted to join their fellow-citizens in the other army, in consequence of which Fimbria fell upon his own sword.

The ill success of this army, however, did not intimidate Cinna from making preparations to repel his opponent. Being joined by Carbo, now elected in the room of Valerius, who had been slain, together with young Marius, who inherited the abilities and the ambition of his father, he determined to send over part of the forces he had raised from Dalmatia, to prevent Sylla from entering Italy. Some troops were accordingly embarked; but these being dispersed by a storm, the rest, who had not yet put to sea, absolutely refused to go. Upon this, Cinna, enraged at their disobedience, rushed forward to awe them into their duty. In the mean time, one of the most mutinous of the soldiers, being struck by an officer, returned the blow, but was apprehended for his crime. This ill-timed severity produced a tumult and a mutiny through the whole army; and while Cinna endeavoured to prevent or appease it, he was run through the body by an unknown hand.

A. C. 84.

The army, being thus deprived of their principal leader, continued under Carbo for some time. The next year's consuls being Urbanus and Scipio, new levies were made, and the affairs of the party seemed to wear a very favourable aspect. In short, a great concourse of people flocked from different parts of Italy to support the consuls, who soon saw themselves at the head of an army superior to that of Sylla, whose approach was so much dreaded by all ranks of men.

Sylla, however, was not less alert and expeditious. By long and forced marches, he hastened to his native country, which he intended to deluge with blood. Being arrived at Dyrac-

chium, where he had prepared a fleet to convey him into Italy, he harangued his army before they embarked, entreating, that they would engage themselves by an oath, to continue faithful to his cause. To this they unanimously consented, with many professions of esteem and the most generous attachment; and, after a favourable passage, landed at Brundusium.

Soon after his arrival there, the remains of that shattered party, which had escaped the proscriptions of Marius, came to join him; but, of all the succours which he received, none were more timely or pleasing, than those which were brought him by Cneius Pompey, afterwards surnamed the Great. This commander began already to shew the dawnings of that spirit, which afterwards shone with such lustre in the commonwealth. Though but twenty-three years of age, and at that time invested with no public character, he found means to raise an army of three legions in Picenum, and to overthrow Brutus, who commanded the troops of the opposite faction in that district. This victory was also signalised by his killing the general of the Gaulish cavalry, in single combat, for which he was saluted with the highest marks of respect by Sylla, who intuitively beheld his future greatness.

A civil war being thus unavoidable, and both parties being now advanced very near each other, Sylla was willing to try how far the immense riches he brought with him from Asia were capable of shaking the enemies' forces, without a conflict. For this purpose, he sent deputies to Scipio, the consul, who commanded against him, with proposals for coming to a

treaty. The consul, who sought for nothing so much as peace, very readily embraced his offers, but desired time, previously to confer with Urbanus, his colleague, upon a measure in which he was equally concerned. This was all that Sylla desired; for in the mean time, a suspension of arms being agreed upon, his soldiers went into the opposite camp, displaying those riches which they had acquired in their expeditions, and offering to participate with their fellow-citizens, in case they changed their party. The same motives that prevailed on the soldiers of Fimbria to desert him, now prevailed upon those also to abandon their standard. The whole army declared unanimously for Sylla; and Scipio scarcely knew that he was forsaken and deposed, till he was informed of it by a party of the enemy, who, entering his tent, made him and his son prisoners. Sylla, however, acted with great moderation towards him; he employed all his arts to bring him over to his party; but finding him inflexible, he generously gave him his freedom.

These machinations succeeding so well, Sylla resolved to try the same arts upon the army commanded by Urbanus, the other consul. He sent deputies to him, desiring a conference; but the consul, instructed by the fate of his colleague, confined the deputies, and marched directly against Sylla, in hopes of taking him by surprise. An engagement ensued, in which Sylla's troops, though attacked when in disorder, repaired by their courage, what they wanted in regularity. Urbanus lost seven thousand men, and was obliged to take refuge in Capua, with the shattered remains of his army.

Italy, from one extremity to the other, now began to feel all the desolations and miseries of a declared civil war. Sylla, who was particularly versed in the business of seduction, employed large sums of that money which had been plundered from the East, all over the country, and even among the barbarous nations of Gaul, to extend his interests. On the other hand, the Samnites, to the number of forty thousand men, declared in favour of Carbo, who was chosen consul a third time, with young Marius, of whom his party had formed great expectations. The operations in the field, which had been suspended during the winter, opened with still greater vigour in the beginning of the spring. Marius, at the head of twenty-five cohorts, offered Sylla battle; which this general, knowing how the troops against him were pre-disposed, readily accepted. At first the fortune of the day seemed doubtful, but, just at that period in which victory began to waver, a part of the troops of Marius, which had been previously corrupted, fled in disorder, and this decided the fate of the day. Marius, having vainly endeavoured to rally his troops, was obliged to take refuge in Præneste, a strong place that was still stedfast in his cause. Sylla closely pursued him there, and, having invested the city on every side, marched at the head of another detachment to Rome. B. C. 81.

The inhabitants, thinned by famine and the ravages that attend a civil war, opened their gates upon his arrival. Sylla entered the Forum, and assembling the people, he reprimanded them for their infidelity. However, he exhorted them not to be dejected, for he was still resolved

to pardon and protect them. He observed, that he was obliged, by the necessity of the times, to take vigorous measures, and that none but their enemies and his own should suffer. He then put up to sale the goods of those that fled; and leaving a small garrison in the city, returned to besiege his rival.

Young Marius, on the other hand, made many attempts to raise the siege; but being frustrated in all his designs, either to repulse or to escape his besiegers, he gave way to that resentment which seems to have been hereditary in his family; and ascribing the want of success to the treachery of Sylla's friends, who pretended to remain neuter, he sent orders to Brutus, the prætor at Rome, to put all those senators to death whom he suspected to be in the interest of his rival. With this cruel command, Brutus immediately complied; and many of the first rank were butchered as they were leaving the senate.

Both factions, thus exasperated to madness by mutual injuries and recriminations, gave vent to their fury in several engagements. The forces on the side of Marius were the most numerous, but those of Sylla better united and disciplined. Carbo, who commanded an army for Marius in the field, sent eight legions to Præneste, to relieve his colleague; but they were intercepted by Pompey in a defile, who slew many of them, and dispersed the rest. Carbo, joined by Urbanus, soon after engaged Metellus, but was overcome with the loss of ten thousand men slain, and six thousand taken prisoners. In consequence of this defeat, Urbanus, one of the consuls, killed himself, and Carbo fled to Africa,

where, after wandering a long time, he was at last delivered up to Pompey, who ordered him to be beheaded.

Still, however, a numerous army of the Samnites were in the field, headed by several Roman generals, and by Telesinus, a Samnite, who had shewn himself equal to the greatest commanders of the age. Being joined by four legions, commanded by Carianus, a resolution was formed to make one desperate effort to raise the siege of Præneste, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly, Telesinus made a show of advancing with great boldness, to force the enemy's lines of circumvallation. At the same time Sylla, at the head of a victorious army, opposed him in front; while orders were sent to Pompey, to follow and attack him in the rear. The Samnite general, however, shewed himself superior to both in these operations; for judging of their designs by their motions, he led off his troops by night, and, by forced marches, appeared next morning upon the mountains that overlooked Rome. This devoted city had just time sufficient to shut its gates, to prevent his entrance; but he hoped to seize the place by a bold assault, and encouraging his soldiers, both by their ancient enmity to the Roman state, and their hopes of immense riches when the city was taken; he brought on his men, and led them boldly to the very walls. Appius Claudius, who was at that time in Rome, and in the interest of Sylla, made a sally to oppose him. The Romans fought with that animation which the consciousness of defending every thing dear inspires. But Appius was killed in the combat, and the rest, disheartened by the loss of their general,

seemed preparing for flight. Just at this interval, a party of Sylla's horse appeared at the opposite gates, who throwing themselves into the city, and hastening through it, met the assailants on the other side. The desperate fury of these, in some measure, suspended the fate of the battle, till Sylla with his whole army had time to arrive. It was then that a general and dreadful conflict ensued between the Samnite and the Roman army. The citizens from their walls beheld thousands fall on both sides. The battle continued till the morning, when Sylla found himself completely victorious. He then visited the field of action, on which more than fifty thousand of the vanquished and the victors lay promiscuously. Eight thousand of the Samnites were made prisoners, and killed in cold blood after the engagement. Marcius and Carinus, attempting to escape, were taken, and their heads being cut off, were sent by Sylla's command, to be carried round the walls of Præneste. At this sorrowful sight, the inhabitants of the place, being now destitute of provisions, and despairing of all succour from without, resolved to surrender; but it was only to experience the unrelenting fury of the conqueror, who ordered all the males to be slain. Marius, the cause of these calamities, was at first missing, and it was thought had escaped, but he was at last discovered lying dead with a captain of the Samnites, at the issue of one of the subterranean passages which led from the city. The city of Norba now alone remained unsubdued in Italy; the inhabitants of which, after a long resistance, dreading the fate of Præneste, set their town on fire, and desperately perished in

the flames. The destruction of this place put an end to the civil war: Sylla, now become the undisputed master of his country, entered Rome at the head of his army. Happy, had he supported in peace the glory which he had acquired in war; or had he ceased to live, when he ceased to conquer!

Being now no longer obliged to wear the mask of lenity, he began his tyranny by assembling the people, and desiring an implicit obedience to his commands, if they expected favour. He then caused it to be proclaimed, that those who expected pardon for their late offences, must obtain it by destroying the enemies of the state. This was a new and diabolical mode of proscription, by which the arms of all were turned against all. Great numbers perished by this mutual power of destruction; and nothing was to be found in every place, but menaces, distrust, and treachery. Eight thousand, who had escaped the general carnage, submitted themselves to the conqueror of Rome; he ordered them to be put into the Villa Publica, a large house in the Campus Martius; and at the same time convoked the senate. There he spoke with great fluency, and in perfect composure, of his own exploits; while he had given private directions, that all those wretched captives should be slain. The senate, amazed at the horrid outcries of the sufferers, at first thought that the city was given up to plunder; but Sylla, with an unembarrassed air, informed them, that it was only some criminals who were punished by his order. The day after, he proscribed forty senators and sixteen hundred knights; and, after an intermission of two days, forty senators more,

with an infinite number of the richest citizens of Rome. He declared the children and the grand-children of the opposite party infamous, and divested of the rights of freemen. He ordained by a public edict, that those who saved or harboured any of the proscribed should suffer in their place. He set a price upon the heads of such as were thus to be destroyed, two talents being the reward promised for every murder. Slaves, incited by such offers, massacred their masters; and what was more shocking to humanity, children, whose hands still reeked with the blood of their parents, came confidently to demand the wages of parricide!

Nor were the enemies of the state the only sufferers; Sylla permitted his very soldiers to revenge their private injuries. Riches now became dangerous to the possessor, and even the reputation of fortune was equivalent to guilt. The brother of Marius felt the conqueror's most refined cruelty! First, he had his eyes plucked out deliberately; then his hands and legs were cut off at several times, to lengthen his torments; and in this agonizing situation he was left to expire. At the detail of such horrors, humanity sickens, and nature revolts; while piety lifts up its eyes to Heaven and is ready to ask, why such enormities are permitted to disgrace creation. But these barbarities were not confined to Rome: the proscription was extended to many of the inhabitants of the cities of Italy; and even whole towns and districts were ordered to be laid desolate. These were given to his soldiers as rewards for their fidelity; who, still wanting more, excited him to new acts of cruelty. In this general slaughter, Julius Cæsar, who had married

Cinna's daughter, escaped with difficulty. Sylla, however, was prevailed upon to let him live, though he was heard to say, that there were many Mariuses in Cæsar.

These sanguinary and violent measures could only be supported by an increase of power. Sylla therefore invested himself with the dictatorship; and thus uniting all civil as well as military power in his own person, he from thence gave an air of justice to every oppression. The people were too much humbled to attempt curbing his insolence: they silently assented to all his claims, however arbitrary and unjust. A. C. 80. U. C. 668.

The government of Rome having now passed through all the forms of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, by a natural transition began to settle into despotism; from which, though it made some faint struggles to be free, yet it never after completely extricated itself. Sylla, however, to amuse the people with a show of their former government, permitted them to have consuls; but at the same time took care, that none but his own creatures should be elected; and that all their power should be entirely derived from him.

Among other alterations, he added three hundred of the knights to the senate; and ten thousand of the slaves belonging to the proscribed, to the body of the people. To establish these regulations more firmly, he appropriated to himself the treasures of the public; and lavished them in widening his dependencies, and strengthening his interests. Crassus, already the richest man in the state, was ever soliciting and obtaining an accumulation of his favours.

Pompey put away his wife Antistia to oblige him, and married Emilia, the dictator's step-child. He attempted to exercise the same power over Julius Cæsar, by obliging him to repudiate his wife Cornelia; but that young Roman preferred exile to a compliance, from which he resolved never to return, till Sylla was no more.

In this manner he continued to govern with capricious tyranny, none daring to resist his power; for if they made the least opposition, they were sure to feel his vengeance. Whenever he proposed laws, the people assembled, not to deliberate upon their fitness, but to give them the sanction of their consent. They found themselves quite ejected from any concern in the state; and saw nothing before them, but a prospect of hopeless and confirmed slavery. It was at this juncture, however, that, contrary to the expectations of all mankind, Sylla laid down the dictatorship, having held it not quite three years.

It was not without the greatest surprise, indeed, that the people saw this despot, who had made himself so many enemies in every part of the state, quitting a power he had usurped at so much risque and danger, and reducing himself to the rank of a private citizen; but their wonder increased, when they heard him offering to take his trial before the people, whom he constituted judges of his conduct. Having divested himself in their presence of his office, and dismissed the lictors who guarded him, he continued to walk for some time in the Forum, unattended and alone. At the approach of evening he retired homewards, the people following him all the way in

A. C. 78. U. C. 670.

a kind of silent astonishment mixed with awe. Of all that great multitude, which he had so often insulted and terrified, none were found hardy enough to reproach or accuse him, except one young man, who pursued him with bitter invective to his own door. Sylla disdained replying to so mean an adversary; but turning to those who followed, observed, "That this fellow's insolence would, for the future, prevent any man's laying down an office of such supreme authority."

It is difficult to explain the motives of Sylla's abdication: whether they proceeded from vanity, or a deep-laid scheme of policy. Whether, being satiated with the usual adulation which he received from the terror of his power, he was now desirous of receiving some for his patriotism; or whether, dreading assassination, he was willing to disarm vengeance by retiring from the splendours of an envied situation.* However this may be, he soon retired into the country, in order to enjoy the pleasures of tranquillity and social happiness, if such a wretch were capable of tasting either; but he did not long survive his abdication, dying of a most filthy disease,† a loathsome and mortifying object to human ambition. He was the first of his family whose body was burnt; for having ordered the remains of Marius to be taken out of his grave and thrown into the river Anio, he was apprehensive of the same insult upon his own, if left to the

* Like other usurpers who had rendered themselves a kind of necessary evils, Sylla might possibly expect that the people would voluntarily confer on him as a gift the power he made a show of relinquishing; but if this was his aim, he was disappointed.

† Morbus pedicularis.

usual way of burial. A little before his death he made his own epitaph, the tenor of which was "That no man had ever exceeded him in doing good to his friends or injury to his enemies."

Sylla being dead, the old dissensions that had been smothered for some time by the terror of his power, burst out into a flame between the two factions, supported severally by the two consuls, Catulus and Lepidus, who were wholly opposite to each other in party and politics. Lepidus resolving to rescind the acts of Sylla, and recal the exiled Marians, began openly to solicit the people to support him in that resolution. On the other hand, Catulus, whose father had been condemned to die by Marius, inheriting the principles of his family, vigorously opposed and effectually counteracted, the designs of his colleague. Lepidus now saw that recourse to arms would be necessary to accomplish his purpose, and with this view retired to his government of Gaul, where the report of his levies and military preparations soon gave such umbrage to the senate, that they abrogated his command. Upon this he advanced into Italy, at the head of a large army, and marched in hostile array towards Rome, to demand a second consulship. Catulus, in the mean time, upon the expiration of his office, was invested with the charge of defending the government; and Pompey, by a decree of the senate, was joined with him in the same commission. These, therefore, having united their forces before Lepidus could reach the city, came to an engagement with him, near the Milvian Bridge, within two miles of Rome, where they totally routed and

dispersed his army: but Cisalpine Gaul still remaining in the possession of Brutus his lieutenant, the father of the celebrated patriot of that name, Pompey was sent against him; and Brutus having sustained a siege in Modena, was taken, and put to death. As for Lepidus, he escaped into Sardinia, where he soon fell a martyr to grief for his disappointed hopes and the miseries he saw entailed on his country.

His party, however, did not expire with him. A more dangerous enemy still remained in Spain. This was Sertorius, a veteran soldier, who had been bred under Marius, and had acquired all his virtues, without being tinctured by any of his vices. He was temperate, just, merciful, and brave; but his military skill seemed to exceed that of any other general of his time. Upon the extinction of the Marian party, this brave commander fell into the hands of Sylla, who dismissed him with life upon account of his known moderation: yet soon after, capriciously repenting of his clemency, he proscribed, and drove him to the necessity of seeking safety in a distant province. Sertorius being thus banished from Rome, after several attempts on Africa, and the coasts of the Mediterranean, found, at last, a refuge in Spain, whither all who fled from Sylla's cruelty resorted to him; of whom he formed a senate, that gave laws to the whole province. There, by his great abilities and clemency, he so gained the hearts of the warlike inhabitants, that for eight years he continued to sustain a war against the whole power of the Roman state. Metellus, an old and experienced commander, was sent against him at first; but he was so often out-generalled by his opponent,

that the senate found it necessary to send Pompey their favourite to his assistance, with the best troops of the empire.

Sertorius, however, maintained his ground against them both, and, after many engagements, in which he generally came off equal, and often superior, he began to meditate the invasion of Italy. But all his schemes were baffled by the treachery of one of his lieutenants, named Perpenna, who had some time before come over to him with the shattered remains of Lepidus's army, and was, at first, an useful assistant. However a jealousy arising between them, Perpenna invited him to a sumptuous entertainment, where having intoxicated all his attendants, he fell upon Sertorius, A. C. 73. and treacherously murdered him. This stroke of barbarity only served to ruin his party, which had been entirely supported by the reputation of the general; for soon after Perpenna, being easily overthrown by Pompey, was taken prisoner, and all the revolted provinces readily submitted. The conqueror is celebrated on this occasion, for an action of great prudence and generosity. Perpenna, in hopes of saving his life, offered to make some important discoveries, and to put into his hands all the papers of Sertorius, in which were several letters to and from the principal senators of Rome. Pompey, however, rejecting his offer, ordered the traitor to be dispatched, and his papers to be burnt without reading them. By these means he eased the people of their fears, and prevented those acts of desperation which the consciousness of discovered guilt might have occasioned.

Pompey was now the most popular man in

Rome, and it seemed as if Fortune had delighted in giving him new opportunities of serving his country. Upon his return, he attacked a large body of slaves, who had escaped after their overthrow by Crassus in Italy, and cut them to pieces. This insurrection, which Pompey had the good fortune of thus terminating, was called the Servile war, and took its rise from a few gladiators, who broke from their fencing-school at Capua, and, having drawn a number of slaves after them, overthrew Glaber the prætor, who was sent to suppress them; and from this success, their number soon increased to an army of forty thousand men. With this strength, and headed by Spartacus their general, they sustained a vigorous war of three years, in the very heart of Italy: they defeated several commanders of consular and prætorian rank, and even began to talk of attacking Rome. But Crassus, having assembled all the forces in the vicinity of the capitol, drove them before him to the extremity of Rhegium, where, the greatest part were destroyed; and among them Spartacus, fighting bravely to the last, at the head of his desperate forces. It was the remainder of this wretched band, that Pompey happened to fall in with in his passage across the Alps homeward; and, as he expressed it to the senate, by destroying them, he plucked up the war by the roots. Thus ended the civil wars, which had been excited by the ambition of Marius and Sylla, and continued for a long period, in which it is impossible for the generous and humane to advocate the cause of either party, as both were equally cruel, base, self-interested, and venal.

Yet during this gloomy and distracted interval,

all the arts of peace had been cultivated, and had risen to a very high degree of perfection. Plautus and Terence, it is true, had flourished some time before; but Lucretius, the boast of his age, who exceeds as much in poetry as he falls short in philosophy, adorned those ill-fated times, and charmed with the harmony of his versification. Learning, however, was chiefly cultivated among the great; for luxury had not yet sufficiently descended to the meaner ranks, to give them a relish for intellectual enjoyments. It is only under easy circumstances that the refined pleasures of the imagination are indulged: gross sensuality and oppressive indigence are equally inimical to a genuine taste for mental delights.

## CHAP. XI.

*From the Death of Sylla, to the Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.*

THE turbulence of faction being now apparently composed, it was hoped that the commonwealth would have time to respire from the calamities it had sustained during the civil conflicts. But the spirit of ambition had now entered into the state; and Sylla's example shewed the possibility of obtaining sovereign power. Of those leading men, who, at this period, monopolized the principal favour both of the senate and the people, Pompey and Crassus were the most illustrious. They were both conquerors, both desirous of power, and both aiming at it by extending their popularity. Pompey, however, was without an equal for military reputation; while Crassus, knowing his inferiority in this respect, took care to amass wealth, and to devote it to the purposes of ambition.

Between these great men, jealousies soon arose, and were fomented by various causes. They both secretly wished to undermine each other; neither indeed with views of freeing his country from the overgrown power of an aspiring citizen, but each with a desire of establishing his own.

The first opportunity that was afforded of discovering their mutual jealousy, was upon the disbanding the respective troops, with which they had conquered. Neither chose to begin;

so that the most fatal consequences were likely to arise from their suspicious vigilance: but, at length, Crassus, stifling his resentment, resigned his command; and the other followed his example immediately after. The next trial between them was, who should make the greatest sacrifices to obtain the favour of the people. Crassus entertained the populace at a thousand different tables; distributed corn to the families of the poor, and fed the greatest part of the citizens for near three months. Pompey employed other resources not less effectual;—he laboured to abrogate the laws made against the people's authority by Sylla; he restored the power of judging to the knights, which had been formerly granted them by Gracchus; and gave back to the tribunes of the people all their former privileges. It was thus that each gave his private aims an appearance of patriotism; so that what was in reality ambition in both, assumed the form of liberality in the one, and of a love of freedom in the other.

However, the arts of Pompey seemed, upon this occasion, to give him the superiority. The tribunes, who were restored to all their former dignities, thought they could never sufficiently recompence their benefactor; they only waited for an opportunity of gratifying his highest ambition, and this soon presented itself. A number of pirates, formerly employed by Mithridates, had, by the long continuance of their success in plundering all they met, amassed great wealth, and collected in their body many thousand men of several nations. They made choice of Cilicia for their principal place of resort, and, not content with robbing by sea, ven-

tured even upon conquest by land. Italy itself was not free from their depredations. It was now, therefore, resolved to punish their insolence by sending out a fleet capable of utterly annihilating their power. For this purpose, Gabinius the tribune preferred a law, that Pompey should be created admiral with absolute authority against the pirates for three years; that his power should extend over the whole Mediterranean sea and its coasts, to a certain distance on land; that he should raise as many soldiers and mariners as he should think expedient; and that he should receive from the public treasury whatever sums of money he thought necessary for carrying on the war with vigour and success. This law, which the senate vainly attempted to oppose, conferred on Pompey a power which he might have easily converted to the ruin of his country: but nothing dangerous was to be feared from a man whose actions had hitherto always testified a love of glory rather than of dominion.

A. C. 66. U. C. 682.

Pompey, being thus furnished with absolute power over the fleet, stationed his lieutenants in the several bays and harbours of the Mediterranean with so much judgment, that he soon forced the enemy from their ports; while the admiral himself, at the head of the largest squadron of his fleet, sailed up and down, visiting and instructing such as he sent upon duty. By these means, in less than forty days he obliged the enemy to take refuge in Cilicia, the only retreat that was left them. There he soon followed them, with sixty of his best ships; and though they had prepared to give him battle, yet,

on the sight of such a formidable armament, they were struck with terror, and submitted to the mercy of Pompey. As their numbers amounted to above twenty thousand men, he was unwilling to destroy them; and yet to permit their returning to their ancient habitations, was not safe. He therefore removed them to places further distant from the sea, where he assigned them lands, and thus added new subjects and dominions to the empire of Rome.

The success of this expedition having added greatly to Pompey's fame, the tribunes thought it a favourable moment to advance their partisan still higher; wherefore Manlius, one of the number, preferred a law, that all the armies of the empire, the government of Asia, and the management of the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, should be committed to him alone. A power so great and unlimited awakened all the jealousy of the senate: they considered this as nothing less than proclaiming him sovereign of the empire, and even tempting him to enslave his country. The weight of these reasons, and, still more, the authority of the senate, were about to preponderate, and the tribunes seemed hesitating whether they should not withdraw their motion, when Marcus Tullius Cicero rose up to second the law, and to pay his tribute of eloquence to the virtues of Pompey. It was the first time that this orator had ever addressed an assembly of the people; but that eloquence must have been irresistible then, which to this day continues to charm and improve posterity. The law in consequence passed with little opposition; the decree was confirmed by all the tribunes of the people; and Pompey was peace-

ably invested with as great power, as Sylla had forced himself into through guilt and crimes.

Thus appointed to the command against Mithridates, with almost sovereign power, Pompey immediately departed for Asia, to conduct one of the most important wars that had been hitherto undertaken by the Romans. Mithridates was not an effeminate and a luxurious prince, trembling at the sound of a name; but a mighty king, undaunted in every stage of his fortune, and, like a lion, gaining new courage from every wound. His dominions were, in fact, well situated for supporting a war against an invading enemy. They bordered on the inaccessible mountains of Mount Caucasus, whose savage inhabitants he could bring into the field; they extended thence along the sea of Pontus, which he covered with his ships: besides, he was rich, and continually raising new armies among the Scythians, a people of invincible bravery. The resistance he made against Sylla, and the peace which that general forced him to accept, have already been recorded: this, however, being the effect of compulsion, lasted no longer than while there were forces strong enough to compel him to its observance. Murena, whom Sylla had left behind, attempting to reduce him to obedience, first met with disgrace, and, at last, a total overthrow. Some time after, Mithridates, having procured the alliance of Tigranes, king of Armenia, invaded the kingdom of Bithynia, which had been lately bequeathed to the Romans by Nicomedes, the king of the country. To stop the progress of these conquests, Lucullus, an experienced general, had been sent from Rome, and, upon his arrival,

an engagement ensued, in which Mithridates lost his whole army; and being obliged to escape by sea, was very near falling into the hands of the enemy, had he not been taken up by a pirate, who landed him safe in his own dominions. No way intimidated by these disasters, he soon raised another army, and in the beginning gained some advantages over the enemy. But Lucullus having cut off all his internal resources, forced him to take shelter in the court of Tigranes, king of Armenia. The Roman general followed him thither also, and demanded his person; but Tigranes, though he had no partial attachment to the deposed king, refused to deliver him, because Lucullus had neglected to enumerate all his titles. Pride, it seems, was the reigning passion of this weak monarch; he was more desirous of receiving homage than of procuring power: it was usual with him, to oblige the kings he had conquered to attend him as slaves, when he appeared in public: and in consequence of his successes over the petty states around him, he had assumed the pompous title of Monarch of all Monarchies. This appellation the Roman general disdained to compliment him with. The war therefore changing its objects, the generals of Tigranes were at first easily overcome; and, though he soon after engaged at the head of two hundred and fifty thousand men, yet he met with no better fortune. These victories promised a speedy end to the war, which had now been protracted for seven years; and, though the conduct of it once more devolved upon Mithridates, yet he being pressed as much as ever, was obliged to take refuge in Lesser Armenia. Thither Lucullus was preparing to

follow him, when intelligence arrived that Glabrio, who had been consul for the last year, was appointed to displace him in his command, and was actually arrived in Asia for that purpose. This disgrace it seems was owing to the intrigues of some of Lucullus's soldiers, who, harassed by perpetual fatigues, and seduced by factious officers, had privately sent their complaints to the senate; wherefore, upon Glabrio's arrival, the whole army abandoned their general; who could not see, without indignation, Mithridates resume all his power, and recover the whole kingdom of Pontus; while Glabrio, testifying no inclination to enter upon a troublesome office, continued an idle spectator of his successes, and chose to stop short in Bithynia. This mutinous spirit in the troops of Lucullus, and the little inclination Glabrio seemed to have of engaging, gave rise to that general desire which prevailed, of appointing Pompey to terminate this long-protracted war.

Before Pompey tried the force of his arms, he thought proper to propose terms of accommodation to Mithridates; but this monarch, having a little respired from his great and numerous losses, determined to follow fortune while it seemed propitious. He had found means to collect a very considerable army from the wrecks of his former power, and meditated pursuing the Romans into Armenia, where he expected to cut off their supplies; but being disappointed in this, he was obliged to fly, having first killed all such as were not able to accompany him in his retreat: Pompey, however, by great exertions, overtook him before he could have time to pass the river Euphrates. It was then

night, but being compelled to engage, it is said, that the moon shining from behind the Roman army, lengthened their shadows so much, that the archers of Mithridates shot their arrows at these, mistaking the shadow for the substance. Certain it is, that the Asiatic soldiers were unable to withstand the force of the European infantry: he did all that lay in the power of a great and experienced general, to lead them on to the charge, and to prevent their terrors; but they could not be brought to endure the shock of the hardy veterans of Pompey. Being thus again overthrown, with the loss of almost all his forces, and finding himself hemmed in on every side by the Romans, he made a desperate effort at the head of eight hundred horse, to break through them; and thus effected his escape, though with the loss of five hundred of his followers in the attempt. He had long been acquainted with distress, but his present situation seemed more deplorable than ever; he continued for several days, sorrowfully wandering through the forests that covered the country, leading his horse in his hand, and subsisting on whatever fruits he accidentally found in his way. In this forlorn situation he met with about three thousand of his soldiers who had escaped from the general carnage, and by their assistance he was conducted to one of the magazines, where he had deposited those treasures that were intended to support the war. He then dispatched messengers to Tigranes for aid; but that monarch was too much engaged in suppressing a domestic rebellion to be able to send any succours abroad. Disappointed on that side, still, however, he would not despair, but fled to Colchis, a state which

had formerly acknowledged his power. Being pursued thither also by Pompey, he took another dreary journey, crossed the Araxes, marched from danger to danger, through the country of the Lazi, and assembling all the barbarians he met with in his way, induced the Scythian princes to declare against Rome. Stedfast in his enmity, he continued his opposition, even though he found his own family confederating against him. Though betrayed by his son Macharis, and his life attempted by Pharnaces, yet he still aimed at great designs, and, even in the heart of Asia, projected the invasion of the Roman empire; by marching into Europe, and, there being joined by the fierce nations that inhabited Germany and Gaul, to cross the Alps into Italy, as Annibal had done before him.—But his timid Asiatic soldiers were ill-disposed to second the great views of their leader. Upon being apprised of his intentions, a mutiny ensued, which was promoted by his unnatural son Pharnaces.

Thus obliged to take refuge in his palace in order to escape the fury of the army, he sent to his son for leave to depart, offering the free possession of all that remained of his wretched fortunes, and his title to those dominions of which he had been deprived by the Romans. To this the wretch made no direct reply; but turning to the slave that brought him the message, he bade him, with a stern countenance, tell his father, That death was all that now remained for him. Such a horrid instance of filial impiety added new poignancy to the unhappy monarch's affliction; he could not refrain from venting his imprecations, and from wishing that such an unna-

tural child might one day meet with the like ingratitude from his own children. Then leaving his own apartment, where he had been for some time alone, he entered that particularly appropriated to his wives, children, and domestics, where he warned all those to prepare for death, who did not choose to undergo the horrors of a Roman captivity. They all readily consented to die with their monarch, and cheerfully taking the poison, which he had in readiness, expired before him. As for himself, having used his body much to antidotes, the poison had but little effect, whereupon he attempted to dispatch himself with his sword; but that also failing, a Gaulish soldier, whose name was Bitæus, performed this friendly office. Thus died Mithridates, betrayed by his son, and forsaken by an army that seemed terrified at the greatness of his enterprises. His fortune was various, his courage always the same: he had for twenty-five years opposed Rome: and, though he was often betrayed by his captains, his children, and his wives, yet he continually found resources against his enemies in his own mighty mind, and was formidable to the very last.

Meanwhile, Pompey was diligently employed in pursuing his advantages over Tigranes, who had not only to resist the Romans, but his own three sons who had united in rebellion against him. Two of these he had the fortune to overthrow, and put to death; but he was soon after compelled by Pompey to surrender. His remaining son, who had taken refuge in the Roman camp, did all that lay in his power to prevent a reconciliation; but Pompey, reprimanding

him for his disobedience, treated the old king with great humanity, and restored to him the greatest part of his dominions, only depriving him of his conquests, and fining him six thousand talents, towards defraying the expences of the war. His son continuing still averse to a treaty, and threatening his father's life, was justly confined by the general's command, and reserved to deck his triumph.

Pompey now rushed like a torrent, carrying all before him; he marched over the vast mountains of Taurus, setting up and deposing kings at his pleasure. Darius, king of Media, and Antiochus, king of Syria, were compelled to submit to his clemency; while Phraates, king of Parthia, was obliged to retire, and send to entreat a peace. From thence, extending his conquests over the Thurzans and Arabians, he reduced all Syria and Pontus into Roman provinces. Then turning towards Judea, he summoned Aristobulus, who had usurped the priesthood from his elder brother Hyrcanus, to appear before him; but Aristobulus having fortified the temple of Jerusalem against him, refused to answer. This venerable place, thus converted into a garrison, being very strong from its situation, held out for three months; but was at last taken, and twelve thousand of its defenders slain. Pompey entered this great sanctuary with a mixture of resolution and fear: he shewed an eager curiosity to enter into the Holy of Holies; where he gazed for some time upon those things which it was unlawful for any but the priests themselves to behold. Nevertheless, he shewed so much veneration for the place, that he forbore touching any of the vast treasures deposited there. After re-

storing Hyrcanus to the priesthood and government, he took Aristobulus with him, to grace his triumph upon his return. This triumph, which lasted two days, was the most splendid that had ever entered the gates of Rome: in it were exposed the names of fifteen conquered kingdoms, eight hundred cities taken, twenty-nine re-peopled, and a thousand castles brought to acknowledge the empire of Rome. Among the prisoners led in triumph, appeared the son of Tigranes; Aristobulus, king of Judea; the sister of Mithridates; together with the hostages of the Albanians, Iberians, and the king of Comagena. The treasures that were brought home, amounted to near four millions of our money; and the trophies and other splendours of the procession were such that the spectators seemed lost in the magnificent profusion. All these victories, however, rather served to heighten the glory than to increase the stability of the power of Rome. The commonwealth was now become too vast to be ruled, without a perfect unity of action. The freedom on which it had been founded seemed daily to lose its lustre, and anarchy or despotism alternately to bear sway. Even while Pompey was pursuing his conquests abroad, Rome was at the verge of ruin, from a conspiracy at home.

A. C. 64. This conspiracy was projected and carried on by Sergius Cataline, a patrician by birth, who resolved to build his own power on the downfal of his country. He was singularly formed, both by art and nature, to conduct a conspiracy:—possessed of courage equal to the most desperate attempts, he had eloquence to give a colour to his ambition;

ruined in his fortunes, profligate in his manners, and vigilant in pursuing his aims, he was insatiable after wealth, only with a view to lavish it in guilty pleasures: in short, as Sallust describes him, he was a compound of opposite passions; intemperate to excess, yet patient of labour to a wonder; severe with the virtuous, debauched with the gay; so that he had all the vicious for his friends by inclination; and he attached even some of the good, by his specious display of pretended virtue. However, his real character at length became conspicuous: he had been accused of debauching a vestal virgin; he was suspected of murdering his son, to gratify a criminal passion; and it was notorious, that in the proscription of Sylla, he had killed his own brother, to make his court to that sanguinary tyrant.

Catiline being plunged into debt, by his expensive profligacy, resolved to extricate himself from it by any means, however unlawful: his first aim, therefore, was at the consulship, in which he hoped to repair his shattered fortune, by the plunder of the provinces; but in this he was frustrated. This disgrace operating upon a mind naturally fervid, he instantly entered into an association with Piso and some others, of desperate fortunes like himself, in which they had agreed to kill the consuls that had been lately chosen, with several other senators, and to share the government among themselves. These designs, however, were discovered before they were ripe for action, and the senate took care to obviate their effects. Some time after, he again sued for the consulship, and was again disappointed; the great Cicero being preferred before him. Enraged at these repeated mortifi-

cations, he breathed nothing but revenge; though unfurnished with the means, adequate to the execution of his nefarious designs.

Many of those who were engaged in the former conspiracy of Piso, still remaining attached to his interests, he assembled them, to about the number of thirty, and laid before them his plan of operation. It was resolved among them, that a general insurrection should be raised throughout Italy, the different parts of which were assigned to the different leaders. Rome was to be fired in several places at once; and Catiline, at the head of an army raised in Etruria, was, in the general confusion, to possess himself of the city, and massacre all the senators. Lentulus, one of his profligate assistants, who had been prætor or judge in the city, was to preside in their general councils: Cethegus, a man who sacrificed the possessions of great present power, to the hopes of gratifying his revenge against Cicero, was to direct the massacre through the city; and Cassius was to conduct those who fired it. But the known vigilance of Cicero being a chief obstacle to their designs, Catiline was very desirous to remove him before he left Rome; upon which, two of the conspirators undertook to kill him the next morning in his bed, under pretence of an early visit on business. The meeting, however, was no sooner over, than Cicero had information of all that passed; for by the intrigues of a woman, named Fulvia, he gained over Curius, her lover, and one of the conspirators, to furnish him with a detail of all their deliberations. Having taken proper precautions to guard himself against the designs of his morning visitors, who were punctual to the

appointment, his next care was to provide for the defence of the city; and assembling the senate, consulted what was best to be done in this time of danger. It was first agreed on to offer considerable rewards for further discoveries, and then to prepare for the defence of the state. Catiline, with undaunted effrontery, went boldly to the senate, declaring his innocence, and offering to give any security for his behaviour. These professions, urged with an apparent humility, gained over many of the Roman senators; but Cicero, incensed at his impudence, instead of pursuing the business of the day, rose up, and addressing himself to Catiline, broke out into a most severe invective against him. The speech is still remaining, in which, with all the fire of incensed eloquence, he lays open the whole course of Catiline's crimes, and the particulars of his present impeachment.

When Cicero was seated, Catiline rose in his turn, and, with well-prepared dissimulation, and a dejected countenance, besought the senate not to credit vain reports concerning him; nor believe that a person of his rank would be guilty of such vile imputations. While he was continuing his defence, and beginning to introduce some reflections against the consul, the senate refused to hear him; whereupon he declared aloud, "That since he was denied the liberty of "vindicating himself, and driven headlong by "his enemies, he would extinguish the flame "that was raised about him, if the consequence "should prove universal ruin." Thus saying, he rushed out of the assembly, threatening destruction to all his opposers. As soon as he had returned to his house, and began to reflect on

what had passed, he perceived it vain to dissemble any longer; wherefore resolving to enter at once into action, before the commonwealth was prepared to oppose him, he left Rome by night, with a small retinue, to hasten towards Etruria, where Manlius, one of the conspirators, was raising an army for his support.

Meanwhile, Cicero took proper precautions to secure all the conspirators who remained in Rome; and induced the people, by the power of his eloquence, to second his designs. Lentulus, Cethegus, Cassius, and several others, were put in confinement; and it was propounded to the senate, what course should be taken with the prisoners. Capital punishments were rare, except in civil broils; and even odious in Rome; while, on the other hand, the crimes of which they were convicted, required a quick and exemplary punishment. Silanus, the ensuing year's consul, was of opinion, that they should be put to death. To this, all who spoke after him readily assented, till it came to Julius Cæsar's turn to deliver his opinion. This extraordinary man, who was chosen prætor for the ensuing year, had, from the beginning of his life, chalked out a way to universal empire; and now thought that a show of clemency upon this occasion would conciliate the favour of the people. It is supposed, indeed, by some, that he secretly favoured the conspiracy, and only waited for its first successes, to put himself at its head. He, therefore, observed, in an elegant and elaborate speech, for of all orators in the commonwealth he was inferior to Cicero alone, that those who voted for death, were on the merciful side, since death was but the relief of the miserable, and

left no sense of good or ill beyond it. The heinousness of the present crime, he said, might justify any severity; but the example was dangerous in a free state, where power sometimes happened to fall into bad hands. Though no danger could be apprehended from such a consul as Cicero, yet, in other times, and under other consuls, none could say how far justice might stop short of cruelty: his opinion, therefore, was, that the conspirators should be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Cæsar's speech, delivered with all the arts of a complete orator, seemed to make a great impression on the assembly: Silanus began to waver; and even the friends of the consul were almost convinced, when Porcius Cato, at last, stood up to oppose it. No two characters could be more opposite, than his and that of the former speaker. Cæsar was merciful, gentle, and insinuating; Cato severe, impetuous, and overbearing: Cæsar loved his country, in hopes one day to govern it; Cato loved it more than other countries, only because he thought it more free: the one scrupled no means, however illicit, to attain his ends; the other laboured but to one end, and by one way, to reach the most perfect justice by the most inflexible virtue. In short, Cæsar was a follower of Epicurus, and Cato was a rigid stoic.

He began, therefore, by describing Cicero as he really was;—a man dignified with almost every virtue conducive to private happiness, together with all the talents that could improve public felicity. He proceeded, by expressing his wonder how any debate could arise about punishing men who had actually commenced war upon their country; that he had never pardoned in himself

the very wanderings of his heart; and could not easily forgive the most flagitious actions in others: that they were not deliberating on the fate of the prisoners only, but on that of Catiline's whole army, which would be animated or dejected, in proportion to the vigour of their decrees: wherefore his opinion was, since the criminals had been convicted both by testimony and their own confession, that they should suffer death, according to the custom of their ancestors, in circumstances of a similar nature. His speech was seconded by another, still more forcible, from Cicero; and these carried such conviction, that they put an end to the debate. The vote, for the death of the conspirators, was no sooner passed, than Cicero resolved to put it in execution, lest night, which was approaching, should produce any new disturbance. Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest, were therefore taken from their respective sureties, conducted by the chief magistrates, and delivered to the executioners, who instantly strangled them.

In the mean time, Catiline had raised an army of twelve thousand men; of which a fourth part only was completely armed. He refused, at first, to enlist slaves, who flocked to him in great numbers; but upon the approach of the consul, who was sent against him, and the arrival of intelligence that his confederates were put to death in Rome, the face of his affairs was entirely altered. His first attempt, therefore, was, by long marches, to make his escape over the Appennines into Gaul; but in this his hopes were disappointed, all the passes being strictly guarded by an army under Metellus, superior to his own. Being thus hemmed in on every

side, with nothing left him, but either to die or conquer, he resolved to make one vigorous effort before destiny could decide against him. Antoninus, the consul, being sick, the command devolved upon his lieutenant, Petreius, who after a fierce and bloody action, in which he lost a considerable part of his best troops, killed Catiline and his whole army, which fought desperately to the last man. In a word, they all fell in the very ranks in which they stood when alive; and, as if inspired with the spirit of their leader, fought not so much to conquer, as to sell a bloody victory, and to mingle public calamity with their private ruin. A. C. 62. U. C. 686.

The commonwealth, being thus freed from their apprehensions of danger, unanimously concurred in their applauses of Cicero, whose counsels had been the chief means of preventing the total overthrow of the constitution. Public thanks were decreed him by the senate, and, at the instance of Cato, he was styled the Father of his country; the people, with loud acclamations, confirmed the justice of the decree.*

The extinction of this conspiracy, however, seemed only to leave an open theatre for the ambition of the great men of the state to display itself in. Pompey was now returned in triumph from conquering the East, with numerous laurels added to those he had acquired before.

* The glory of Cicero, at this moment, appears to have been at its height. Though courage does not seem in general to have been a constitutional quality in him, no person ever could behave with more resolution during the existence of this conspiracy, which required all his brilliant powers to subdue.

Every eye was fixed upon him, as being the most powerful man in the state, and capable of governing it at his pleasure. His success in war had procured him the surname of Great, and he was still more pleased with the title than the consciousness of deserving it. This was the post his ambition aimed at; he seemed more desirous of being the leader than the ruler of his country; of being applauded than obeyed. He had it often in his power to make himself master of the state by force; but he either declined the risque, or lived in perpetual expectation of receiving as a gift, what he did not choose to extort by violence.

His first object upon his return, was, to direct the election of both the consuls, by whose help he hoped he should readily obtain the ratification of all that he had done in Asia; together with a distribution of lands to his soldiers, from the countries they had conquered. However, he was disappointed in both these expectations, though certainly not unreasonable. The senate, who began to see and dread his power, were desirous of lessening it by every opposition. The consuls likewise opposed him upon all occasions, and were seconded by all those who were not the avowed instruments of his party. The tribune, Flavius, who was the promoter of the proposed law, impatient of the delay, and animated by Pompey's power, had the hardiness to commit Metellus the consul to prison; and when all the senate followed and resolved to go to prison with him, the tribune placed his chair against the door, to prevent them. This violence, however, gave such offence to the people, that Pompey found it advisable to draw off the tri-

bune, and release the consul. Such unexpected opposition in the senate, convinced him that his own interest alone would not be sufficient to rule the commonwealth, without including some of the most powerful men of the state, not as partners to divide his power, but as instruments to assist it.

Crassus, the richest man in Rome, was, next to Pompey, possessed of the greatest authority: his party in the senate was even stronger than that of his rival, and the envy raised against him was less. He and Pompey had been long disunited by an opposition of interests, and of characters; however, it was from a continuance of their mutual jealousies, that the state could expect its future safety. It was in this situation of things, that Julius Cæsar, who had lately gone prætor into Spain, and had returned with great riches and glory, resolved to convert the two rivals to his own advantage. This celebrated man was nephew to Marius, by the female line, and descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome: he had already mounted to eminence by the regular gradations of office; having been quæstor, ædile, and grand pontiff, and prætor in Spain. Being descended from popular ancestors, he warmly espoused the side of the people, and shortly after the death of Sylla procured those whom he had banished to be recalled. He had constantly declared for the populace against the senate, and consequently became their favourite magistrate. His services in Spain had deserved a triumph, and his ambition aspired to the consulship. However, it was contrary to law for him to enjoy both; for to obtain the consulship, he must come into the city, and by entering the city, he was disqualified for a triumph. In this dilemma, he pre-